

The following translation of an old text refers to the destiny of souls 775  
in ancient times, but without reference to rank:

It was said by the people in olden times, that when this body died it [evidently the soul and not the physical body is meant] went at once to Pulotu. When they [the souls] got there, Hikuleo (the ruler of Pulotu) chose some as posts for his fence, and some as supports for the log on which tapa is made, and some were taken as posts for the gate of Hikuleo's fence, etc."

Souls in Pulotu were thought to have earthly appearance though they are only shadows. The souls or spirits of chiefs (including the Tui Tonga) were thought to go to Pulotu, identified with the Underworld (Lolofonua) by some modern Tongans. The soul of a commoner was supposed to appear 775 as an insect on a tapa or mat specially spread after the burial. The tapa 825 was spread in the house where the commoner died and the watchers sat 565 about until an insect appeared thereon, when the mat was carefully folded and tied near the ceiling of the house and never again examined. This appearance of the soul of the deceased was called *fakahaale laumale*. The souls of chiefs never appeared in insect or other animal form.

Now and then the soul of a very great man might manifest itself 775 through a priest. Ideas about reincarnation of the deceased were rare, though a story is told of a dying man who told his weeping children that he would return as a white man to care for them. Another account relates that a woman's soul, incarnate in a rat, came to visit her child. Another 825 woman's soul was said to be incarnate in a large lizard (26, p. 108). Normally, only the gods, and not the souls of men, became incarnate, in animals. The souls or spirits of men might return to this earth, however, as indicated in a narrative and poem recorded by Collocott (16, p. 96).

The term for ghosts (*faahikehe*)—also applied to the gods, to the soul, 774 and (or) the spirit—is a generic term for spiritual beings and means lit- 775 erally "different side or different half of anything divided" (in contrast to 776 human beings). Baker defines *faahikehe* as "the name for all the Tonga 196 gods; an evil spirit." One informant likened a *faahikehe* to an image in a mirror, describing it as something seen but incapable of being grasped. One informant gave the word *otua* (god) as an occasional term for ghost. The 793 word *faahikehe* is also applied to the priest, apparently when possessed by 797 the god. This usage prevailed in Mariner's time (41, vol. 2, p. 80), as well as to-day.

Some sickness is believed to be due to possession by a ghost. The treat- 775 ment is to drink an infusion of certain leaves called *laulolu* and to have the 753 infusion massaged on the body as well. When the ghost is thus driven out 787 the patient cries bitterly, "because sorry to part with the ghost." The 755 infusion may be used as a prophylactic against possession. 757

While I was in Tongatabu, a girl, who with others was shellfish gath- 775  
 ering on a reef, fell down with some sort of seizure. She declared that 787  
 the ghost of her mother's brother had struck her in the face, an attack  
 called *ta i fualikehe* (struck by a ghost). It was said that ghosts some- 775  
 times conversed with living relatives.

An informant of Uiha Island saw near a cemetery the ghost of a man  
 named Nau, wearing a white head cloth and a wreath about the neck. The  
 ghost was walking ahead of the informant, who attributed the apparition to  
 the work of a "bush devil" (presumably Mariner's *otua paau*, which appar-  
 ently correspond with the Samoan *aitu*).

Two ghost stories pertaining to ancient persons of high rank follow.

Folokomanu is the name of a grave mound on the outskirts of Pea, Tongatabu,  
 said to be the royal tomb of Fatafehi, the daughter of a Tui Tonga. The royal tomb  
 Loamanu is said to be the burial place of her father and the other members of his  
 family.

The ghost of this woman, Fatafehi, is said to have appeared to several people  
 in modern times. On one occasion two men of Pea were returning home from a so-  
 journ in Mua. On the road, half way home, they met a very beautiful woman, a  
 stranger to them. They marveled that she was dressed as women dressed in olden  
 times. After greeting her they asked her where she was going. She answered, "I have  
 been at Folokomanu and I am going to Loamanu." Then she disappeared. Then they  
 knew that she was not a woman, but the ghost of Fatafehi who is buried in Folo-  
 komanu.

On another occasion a Caucasian Methodist minister is said to have been bathing  
 in a cistern (*lepa*) behind his house, when he saw a beautiful woman sitting close by  
 watching him. Astonished, he reproved her severely for gazing at him while he was  
 undressed for the bath. She answered with dignity that she was not bothering him;  
 she had come there to bathe and was waiting for him to finish. Then he asked her  
 where she lived. She answered that she lived at Folokomanu. A few days later the  
 minister, while talking to King George II, asked him where was situated the village  
 of Folokomanu. The King replied that Folokomanu was not a village, but a royal  
 tomb. Then the minister told his story, upon which the King said, "That was undoubt-  
 edly not a woman, but the ghost of Fatafehi who is buried at Folokomanu."

At Longoteme, Tongatabu, stands the stone langi called Loamanu. A Female Tui  
 Tonga is said to be buried there. A few years ago there lived an old man in Longo-  
 teme, Fonua by name, whose farm bordered the terrace of the langi. The old man  
 was of an enterprising disposition and resolved to make use of the strip of land lying  
 between the actual boundary line of his tract and the stone terrace of the langi. There-  
 fore, when he planted his yams, he planted some on this virgin territory, an area that  
 had never been so used since the construction of the langi. While he was so engaged,  
 there appeared a beautiful woman standing upon the langi, who spoke to Fonua, say-  
 ing: "You commoner, you thought to plant your yams on my grave, but you have  
 planted them upon your own grave." Then she disappeared and the old man fell dead  
 where he had been working. His son, coming unawares upon the scene, witnessed the  
 tragedy. It is supposed that the woman was the spirit or ghost of the Female Tui  
 Tonga who is interred there.

In addition to terms for the soul and ghost of a deceased person the 774  
 Tongans have a term for the double or apparition of a living person, which  
 appears at a place distant from the person. The term is *tuuola*, analyzed  
 by one informant as *tuu*, to stand, and *ola*, life.



There seem to be two mutually exclusive ideas as to the nature of ghosts 774  
and doubles. One idea is that they are emanations from, or constituent 775  
parts of, mortal man, like the various spiritual parts of man conceived by  
the ancient Egyptians. The other conception is that they are spirits or  
devils which by passing through the body in a grave or through a living  
person assume the likeness of the person. This conception makes both the  
ghost and the living apparition appearances taken on by evil spirits embodied  
in human form, rather than emanations from, or constituent parts of, the  
human body. It seems likely that spirits thus appearing in the form of  
some known person should be classified with Mariner's *otua paau* (41, vol.  
2, p. 104), although no modern informant so classified them. One infor-  
mant said that it was a spirit from Pulotu that might thus take on human  
form by passing through a grave. It is said that when a person sees a 775  
ghost he shakes all over and his hair stands on end, but no sickness follows.  
Ghosts are declared not to partake of food, and food offerings were said [769]  
not to have been made at graves. This is perhaps to be accounted for by  
the belief that Pulotu is a land well supplied with the necessities of life.

At the death of a person it is believed that the ghost of a dead relative  
may come to take the deceased. If a ghost is seen when a chief is ill, it is  
thought to be a relative come to give medicine. People fear ghosts because  
they may take life.

A ghostly experience of the influenza epidemic in 1918 was related. Fusipunga  
of Lifuka, a man who worked in the government labor gang and who had withdrawn  
from the Free Church to join the Mormon Church, is said after death to have haunted  
his wife and his friend Albert of the Free Church. His ghost prevented his wife and  
friend from sleeping, coming at night and shaking them. It was thought that Fusi-  
punga had done wrong and hence could not rest in peace. There were those who said  
that his great sin was quitting the Free Church and joining the Mormons, also sub-  
leasing his land to Mormons for the erection of their church.

To lay a troublesome ghost the grave is opened and the bones broken  
or moved. This is done especially when it is believed that the appearance  
of the ghost is responsible for other deaths in the family. No special term  
was mentioned for this act, only the term *liliu* (to change, to move) being  
used.

In connection with the excavation of skeletal material on the island of [172]  
Kao, Haapai, by McKern and me, ghosts manifested themselves. Natives [126]  
who encamped near the burial place, which was the floor of a great bubble  
of lava, said that they heard "a man and a woman" crying at the spot the  
night following the removal of the bones. A Lifuka informant had heard  
similar wailing following the removal of bones from a cemetery, but attrib-  
uted it to the "blood" of the buried person rather than to a ghost. This  
belief about sentient and rational "blood" was said by another informant  
to be a modern innovation.

Soul catching was practiced under certain circumstances: If a murder or theft was committed and the perpetrator of it was not known, the people assembled at the place of the crime and fanned around it to drive the perpetrator's soul to the house of the local priest. The priest had a net prepared at his residence with which to catch the soul of the culprit. Finally it was captured in the form of a butterfly or other insect and wrapped in tapa. Then the priest made known to the people the man who committed the crime. The relatives of this man cooked pigs, yams, and other food, which they brought to the priest together with tapa and mats. They besought the priest to return the culprit's soul. If the priest was obdurate, the man died. [761]

Perhaps related to the concept of death through soul capture is the belief that a chief or superior relative can pray a person to death. The father's sister's prayer is the most efficacious. The term *hufi* denotes one who prays another to death as well as the act of praying to death, although the word has the broader meaning of "intercession." Praying to death is said to have been frequent. Some god is appealed to: "Oku ou kele atu. . . ofa ke mate. . . ." (I beg you [the god] that [So and So] shall die). The term *fakamalaia* means to curse, to anathematize, to cause a curse. *Kape* and *tatao* are malevolent charms of which Mariner (41, vol. 1, p. 424; vol. 2, p. 226) gives examples. 761  
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So far as could be learned, the Tongans did not conceive of plants and animals having souls. In fact one informant, familiar with Fiji, contrasted Fiji with Tonga in this regard. The only indication of animism is in certain animal tales in which the octopus, rat, and ant are endowed with conversational abilities (26, pp. 206, 207). The fact that the gods used animals as their temporary incarnations, "the boat of the god," was of course no manifestation of animism. 774  
[771]  
[538]  
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Independent of the *tuuola*, or apparition idea, is the belief that the soul can leave the body while the person is in an unconscious state and can wander at will, as for example to Puluotu (26, pp. 153-155). The *tuuola* is visible and the appearance is reported by an observer; the disembodied soul's adventures are not observed by another, but are subjectively recorded.

The notes which follow were recorded by Mr. W. H. Murley, while he was residing in the Haapai Islands of Lifuka, Foa, and Haano:

You know the girl Hina? Well, when she was but a tiny thing her mother Topinisa was taken ill and gradually got worse and in no very long time she was taken to a new and hastily constructed house to end her days, as is our custom. One day whilst Hina was sleeping in her hanging bed, her father Ungakotu, now dead, was lying on his sleeping mat with a bamboo pillow under his head. He was not asleep, however, and presently he saw the head of a big rat. It was neither a *huma papalang* (European rat) nor a Tongan rat, appearing over the top of one of the posts that support the roof. He watched and gradually it crawled down the post with its eyes fixed on Hina's bed. Hina's father gently shifted his position and resting

his head on his left shoulder caught held of his bamboo pillow with his right hand ready to strike the rat as soon as it came within reach. Slowly, but with a seeming purpose, the rat crept down the post and suddenly with a swing of his pillow Hina's father hit the rat fair and square. He got up to look for it but nothing could be found, not even a blood stain and yet he struck the rat. At the same time the wailing (*tongi*) announcing death arose in the house where Hina's mother was. 774

"Well, Latu," I asked, "what had the rat to do with it?" He gave me a withering glance of contempt, lit another match, and answered in tense tones. "That rat, Tama, was the spirit of Hina's mother coming to bid her child farewell."

The other day a man called Fine was riding from Pukotala to here (Haano) and just inside this town he had to pass the graveyard known as Hokihioki or Tukia, where his cousin, Tukia, the son of Vake—mentioned elsewhere, lay buried. The pony took a sudden fright at something and started to bolt, with the result that Fine got knocked off and rendered unconscious. His version of the accident is as follows, "I was coming along gently from Pukotala and just as I was passing Hokihioki, Tukia rose up, caught hold of the bridle and dragged the horse along, when suddenly he gave me a blow on the side of my head and I knew no more. I must have done Tukia some injury when he was alive or have spoken evilly of him since he was dead, but I do not remember." The people here firmly believe that Fine was knocked off by ghosts, and in broad daylight too. 775

In July 1909, William Maqaliuaki, Governor of Haapai, was taken sick in Lifuka. The so called medico wasn't sure if it was paralysis or heart disease! But anyhow, one midday the Governor called out that somebody had entered the window and was pulling the mosquito curtain down. His wife rushed into the room, but nobody was there, but standing on the grass plot in front of the house was a man dressed in guardsman's uniform. The figure had its back to the woman and as she moved forward it vanished. Since Maqaliuaki's death the natives have it, that evil spirits were the cause of his death. This same vision also scared a woman who should have gone to the funeral and remained there afterwards with the widow, as is the Tongan custom, but neglected to do so. On the day of the funeral she was surprised to see a man standing at her doorway; half frightened, she closed the door in the intruder's face, only to see it appear immediately at the door on the other side of the house. That decided her, she packed off post haste to the funeral. [761]

When I told the natives in the town of Fakakakai of the Governor's death, they said, "The mist on the water this morning was a sure sign." And so it holds in Tonga: to see a mist on the sea in the early morning forbodes the death of some high chief. 763 821

#### DIVINATION

A number of terms apply to divination. To forewarn, to premonish is *talakeikapa*. The predicting of future success or failure by appropriate incidents taken as signs is *talotalo*. For instance, a medical practitioner calls to treat a sick boy, finds him asleep. "Oh!" says the practitioner, "his sleeping is my *talo*. I shall cure the boy." The ability to foretell, a sort of inward light, is *kikite*. It differs from *mana*, but is allied to dreaming (*misi*) in character. Something (a spirit or god, one informant thought) comes to the diviner (*tongafisi*) and tells him what will happen tomorrow 787

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was amusing himself on deck by firing off his musket\*, he bade him try to bring that man down from aloft: without the least hesitation he levelled his piece, and instantly brought him down dead: the shot entered his body, and the fall broke both thighs and fractured his skull; upon which Finow laughed heartily, and seemed mightily pleased at the facility with which it was done. When Mr. Mariner understood the language, he asked the king how he could be so cruel as to kill the poor man for so trifling a fault: his majesty replied that he was only a low, vulgar fellow (a cook); and that neither his life nor death was of any consequence to society†.

On Tuesday, the 9th of December, it being spring-tides, the ship floated, and was warped in to low water mark. In the evening they set fire to her, in order to get more easily afterwards at the iron work. All the great guns on board were loaded, and as they began to be heated by the general conflagration they went off, one after another, producing a terrible panic among all the natives. Mr. Mariner was, at

\* The Sandwich islanders are pretty well acquainted with the use of fire-arms: their chief had, at that time, 2000 stand of muskets, procured at different times from American ships.

† The lower orders are thought to have no souls, and a cook is considered the most vulgar profession among them; while a carpenter is esteemed the most respectable.

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of what they declared to be the sentiments of the god was their own invention; and this particularly in regard to what did not suit his own sentiments. He never, however, declared his opinion of these things in public; though he expressed them, very decidedly, to Mr. Mariner, and some of his intimate friends. He used to say that the gods would always favour that party in war, in which there were the greatest chiefs and warriors. He did not believe that the gods paid much attention in other respects to the affairs of mankind; nor did he think they could have any reason for doing so,—no more than man could have any reason or interest in attending to the affairs of the gods. He believed in the doctrine of a future state, agreeably to the notions entertained by his countrymen; that is, that chiefs and matabooles, having souls, exist hereafter in Bolotoo, according to their rank in this world; but that the common people, having no souls, or those only that die with their bodies, are without any hope of a future existence.

Such was the character of the late How of the Tonga islands,—a character not without a considerable share of merit; in some respects not unworthy imitation, and in every respect highly interesting.—We have portrayed it at some length, because such characters do not



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8. That all *egi* or nobles have souls, which exist hereafter in Bolotoo, not according to their moral merit, but their rank in this world, and then they have power similar to the original gods, but less. The matabooles also go to Bolotoo after death, where they exist as matabooles or ministers to the gods, but they have not the power of inspiring priests: the mooas, according to the belief of some, also go to Bolotoo, but this is a matter of great doubt. But the tooas, or lower class of people, have no souls, or such only as dissolve with the body after death, which consequently ends their sentient existence. 771 775 565
9. That the human soul during life is not a distinct essence from the body, but only the more etherial part of it, and which exists in Bolotoo, in the form and likeness of the body, the moment after death. 771 774 775
10. That the primitive gods and deceased nobles sometimes appear (visibly) to mankind, to warn or to afford comfort and advice: that the primitive gods also sometimes come into the living bodies of lizards, porpoises, and a species of water snake, hence these animals are much respected; their coming into porpoises is supposed to be for the purpose of taking care of vessels, &c. 771 776 787 825
11. That the two personages at the Tonga 771

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has a flat surface, ending abruptly, which the sky overarches. If you ask them why the sea does not run over, the answer will be, "How can I tell? I have never been there to see; there are rocks, or something to border it, probably." With regard to the sun and moon, they pass through the sky, and come back some way, they know not how. As to the spots in the moon, they are compared to the figure of a woman sitting down and beating *gnatoo*: when the moon is eclipsed, they attribute the phenomenon to a thick cloud passing over it: the same with the sun. 823

Respecting the human soul, in particular, they imagine it to be the finer or more æriform part of the body, and which leaves it suddenly at the moment of death; and it may be conceived to stand much in the same relation to the body as the perfume and more essential qualities of a flower do to the more solid substance which constitutes the vegetable fibre. They have no proper word to express this fine ætherial part of man: as to the word *loto*, though it may be sometimes used for this purpose, yet it rather means a man's disposition, inclination, passion, or sentiment. The soul is rather supposed to exist throughout the whole extension of the body, but particularly in the heart, the pulsation of which is the strength. 821 822 826

774 and power of the soul or mind. They have no  
 826 clear distinction between the life and the soul, but  
 they will tell you that the *fotomanava* (the right  
 826 auricle of the heart) is the seat of life. They  
 828 form no idea respecting the use of the brain,  
 unless it be, perhaps, the seat of memory; (they  
 have a distinct word for memory, *manatoo* :) they  
 derive this notion from the natural action of  
 putting the hand to the forehead, or striking  
 the head gently when trying to remember any  
 [769] thing. The liver they consider to be the seat  
 of courage, and they pretend to have remarked  
 (on opening dead bodies), that the largest  
 livers (not diseased), belong to the bravest  
 826 men. They also say they have made another  
 [827] observation respecting this viscus, viz. that, in  
 left-handed people, it is situated more on the  
 left than on the right side; and, in persons  
 that are ambidexter, it is placed as much on  
 one side as on the other. They are very well  
 acquainted with the situation of all the principal  
 viscera.

565 They acknowledge that the *tooas*, or lower  
 774 order of people, have minds or souls; but they  
 775 firmly believe that their souls die with their  
 bodies, and, consequently, have no future ex-  
 istence. The generality of the *tooas*, them-  
 selves, are of this opinion, but there are some  
 who have the vanity to think they have immor-

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tal souls as well as matabooles and chiefs, and 565  
 which will live hereafter in Bolotoo. There 774  
 seems to be a wide difference between the opi- 775  
 nions of the natives in the different clusters of  
 the South Sea islands respecting the future ex- 775  
 istence of the soul. Whilst the Tonga doctrine 171  
 limits immortality to chiefs, matabooles, and at [565]  
 most, to mooas, the Fiji doctrine, with abundant  
 liberality, extends it to all mankind, to all brute  
 animals, to all vegetables, and even to stones  
 and mineral substances. If an animal or a plant  
 die, its soul immediately goes to Bolotoo; if a  
 stone or any other substance is broken, immor-  
 tality is equally its reward; nay, artificial bo-  
 dies have equal good luck with men, and hogs,  
 and yams. If an axe or a chisel is worn out or  
 broken up, away flies its soul for the service of  
 the gods. If a house is taken down, or any way  
 destroyed, its immortal part will find a situation  
 on the plains of Bolotoo: and, to confirm this  
 doctrine, the Fiji people can shew you a sort of  
 natural well, or deep hole in the ground, at one  
 of their islands, across the bottom of which runs  
 a stream of water, in which you may clearly  
 perceive the souls of men and women, beasts  
 and plants, of stocks and stones, canoes and  
 houses, and of all the broken utensils of this  
 frail world, swimming, or rather tumbling along  
 one over the other pell-mell into the regions of  
 immortality. Such is the Fiji philosophy, but

goes to the island beyond the sky." This is confirmed by other writers (28, 38, 40), although other ideas of the road to Pulotu are no less unmistakably found. Sir James Frazer has summed up the published accounts of burial and mourning ceremonial (20, vol. 2, pp. 84-147.) It is said that common people were regarded as having no souls; but there seems to be a difficulty, at any rate among present-day Tongans, in deciding just at what point of social elevation a man might hope to be eligible for the joys of Pulotu, and possibly many a man whom his superiors regarded as hopelessly disqualified nourished a secret hope that he might, after all, inherit the pleasures and consequence that were denied him amongst mortals. [565] [774]

When a person has died, and is still lying in the house where he died, only those who are *fahu* to him can go into the part of the house which is about the dead man's head, or can do anything to the upper part of the body. Practical difficulties in preparing the body, should any arise, may be overcome by a *fahu* summoning whom he will to help. The bidding of the *fahu* nullifies the tapu. Foreigners are exempt from tapu binding on natives. In especial the persons who attend the bodies of the dead are the *haa tufunga*, certain *matapule* whose hereditary duty and privilege this is. Tradition makes it clear that this right has been given from one family to another. For a high chief, all who come near the body will be *haa tufunga*. There are considerable emoluments attached to this rank, or duty, as the *haa tufunga* take all the mats which have touched the body and are not buried with it. In practical application there seems to be considerable modification of rules, and eligibility to perform certain functions is not always clearly defined, especially in the case of people of humble social rank. [764] [767] [602] [764] [767] [602] [784] [604]

For some time after the *haa tufunga* have performed their duties about the body of a high chief people are rather shy of them. If they drank from a cup in a house they would take it away with them. A chiefly girl has told me that she noticed at the obsequies of a late head of her own house that the *haa tufunga* all took their own cups with them to avoid embarrassment. I have never seen the *nimatapu* (the hands of a person who has lately touched the dead rendered tapu so that he cannot feed himself) and I am doubtful if many, even of living Tongans, can have seen it; but I have heard of one European who has seen it in comparatively recent years. [784]

The children and brothers of a dead man may not approach the body, but his grandchildren may. He is of superior social rank to his children, but not to his grandchildren. [763] [593] [603]

Ordinarily the women are busy about the dead. Women wail, more or less constantly, from the time the death occurs till the body is removed from the house. Men do not stay in the house where the body is lying. At some time after the burial a woman who is *fahu* to the deceased sprinkles water in the house where he died, and all tapu is thus removed from it. [763] [562] [764]

376. **Jio pe ka kuo i A'a:** Seeing but in A'a; equivalent to day-dreaming, absent-minded. 539  
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A'a is an island in Vavau where resided the two female deities Jiji and Faingaa, who used to appear in the form of the dark and light-colored heron respectively and to take the spirits of handsome men to their island. The bodies of the beaux thus deprived of their spirits would see and hear and to all appearance be carrying out their normal functions, but their souls were really far away. 825  
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377. **Mamahii tapu ka kuo ilo:** Solicitous for the tabu, but knowing. 539  
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This indicates one who is genuinely desirous of observing a tabu, but who knowing the value or charm of the thing prohibited is irresistibly attracted by it and may in the end even break the tabu. The story of Eve and the fruit has been quoted in illustration of this.

378. **Mana hoo tevolo:** May your devil have power (*mana*). 539  
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A threat of an angry man to another. Your god will need plenty of power to protect you from what I am going to do to you. In its present form it is modern, but with the substitution of some other word for *tevolo* (devil) may well be ancient. Another form of the same phrase is *Mana-mana hoo tevolo ke ta fai*, May your devil have power for us to do (strive together). The meaning of the two phrases is the same. Either expression may be preceded by *Ofa ke*, I hope that.

379. **Ngali pe tevolo moe pouli:** Devil just befitting the darkness

Sprites and ghosts and supernatural appearances usually show up at night. Applied to a person with a bad reputation to whom all sorts of bad actions are likely to be imputed. Having once got the reputation of a devil he is liable to be made to carry the blame for any fresh deed of darkness.

380. **•Pekepeka-tama.**

This indicates the white flying-fox said to be an omen of disaster to the house of Ata the chief of Kolovai in the west of Tongatabu, and thence used generally of an omen, portent. The words seem literally to mean, Flying-fox lad, as though one were addressing the observation to another. *Tama*, lad, is frequently applied to chiefs irrespective of age, as *taahine*, girl, is used of chiefly woman. *Pekepeka* is the usual name for the swift (*Collocalia spodiopyga*), but in this instance seems to be a reduplicated form of *peka*, the flying fox. 539  
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381. **Tevolo hala he jikota:** A devil making a road of a king-fisher, that is, manifesting himself through the kingfisher (*Halacyon sacra*). 539  
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The habit of calling the old gods "devils" dates only from the introduction of Christianity. As this expression implies the kingfisher was one



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565 selves, inspired thereto, not as the good missionaries tell us, by the "great enemy of God and man," but by what has since proved to be a well-grounded alarm for the safety of their order. Some of them were shrewd enough to see in the new creed a political system that struck directly at their privileges. In Tonga, as in Galilee and in Rome, the first Christian convert was a  
● [774] commoner. The chiefs, who held that their inferiors possessed no souls, learned with dismay that in the sight of the missionaries all men, not ministers of the Gospel, are equal; that one law was to bind the chief and his serf alike—that the proudest aristocracy in the world were to be abased to the level of the meanest plebeian. Their real stumbling-block was the socialism of Christianity; for the Tongan chiefs having, like Nicodemus, great possessions, were not masters of the higher Biblical criticism that has adapted the creed to the social inequalities that clash with its teachings. To them the new system seemed to strike directly at the privileges of their order. Their power rested upon superstition, hardened and cemented by long custom, and to admit mere foreigners to superior authority was to lower them in the eyes of their subjects. They did not resist the new teachers, they simply claimed the liberty to dissent from the majority,—a liberty which of all others men are least willing to grant to one another.

797 Missionaries are by the nature of their calling intolerant. Tolerance in an evangelist is a sign that he is unfit for his mission. If Messrs Rabone and Tucker had been the men to discourage their new converts from coercing the heathen, they would not have achieved their

775 dead may cause much trouble to the living. The poor ghost longs  
787 for companionship that it has lost, and wanders forth to seek its old  
friends, and induce them to come with it. It enters, or approaches,  
the body of a living friend, usually by the way a hysterical woman,  
and she may become so violent and excited that several people are  
required to hold her. A girl in this condition gave a man a good  
bite in the side; but this exhibition of her powers did not deter him  
from afterwards marrying her. Perhaps the possessed woman may  
be inert, taking no notice of what is said to her. She may tell the  
onlookers that so-and-so wants her to go with her. One way of  
treating the trouble is to knead the patient with the knuckles, to  
press the intruder out. I know a man who chased a ghost round the  
body of a woman with hot-water packs.

775 Fainting fits may be due to the attentions of ghosts. A person in  
753 a faint is said to be *mate*, dead. I have heard an unconscious child  
[761] spoken of as distant, or away; apparently the soul was away.

[774] Massage is not the only remedy. There are leaves which are  
775 potent layers of ghosts. Tongan treatment is homœopathic, and the  
755 effective leaves have a strong smell. They are said to *namu tevolo*,  
757 smell like a ghost or spirit; consequently they have the power of  
787 scaring off ghosts. A decoction is made of the leaves, and the juice  
pressed into ears, eyes, nostrils and mouth, and perhaps rubbed on  
the body. Ghosts cannot pass the barrier thus set up. There seems  
to be no apprehension lest the ghost be imprisoned inside the patient.  
When the patient weeps quietly that is a sign of recovery. Her  
tears are in sorrowful farewell to her dead friend who is leaving her.

Procedure is simplified by the patient's telling the name of the  
ghost. The sick girl may not herself know who it is that is so  
unkindly affectionate, but sometimes she sees the ghost in a dream  
778 or in a waking vision, or recognises its voice. Armed with this  
769 identification of the intruder, friends visit the grave, and beseech the  
dead to leave the living alone. There is not a set form of words to  
be used; respectful remonstrance, threat, anything is in order that  
may be supposed to be effective. Sometimes the grave is opened and  
medicine leaves put on the body. A very drastic remedy is to pour  
boiling sea-water on the grave, though this is not necessarily more  
effective than turning the bones about and mixing them up. If the  
head is put where the feet ought to be, and the legs where one would  
expect to find the head, the cleverest ghost is unable to get itself  
775 sorted out and in shape for walking. Ghostly visitations are not  
always an occasion of sickness. They may be manifested in mys-  
terious lights. People are rather ashamed of having their dead  
relatives walking about. Neighbours are inclined to judge harshly,  
and to conclude that the spirit is failing to make good its entry into  
heaven, and is exhibiting a not unnatural reluctance to take the final

*Euro-American Acculturation in Tonga.*

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as are the ordinances against allowing domestic animals to stray into public thoroughfares. Blue laws prohibiting work and play on the Sabbath are observed scrupulously by the Tongans and diligently enforced among Europeans by the Tongan police.

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So thoroughly saturated is the Tongan with what might be called "tabuism" that his attitude at times becomes intolerant and even persecuting. A well-educated Tongan one day remarked to me concerning Sunday picnics of European residents, "Well, what can you expect from ignorant foreigners?" On another occasion I observed a helmsman on a church-owned passenger vessel severely rebuked for not joining in a hymn. When the schism occurred in the Methodist ranks in Tonga and resulted in the establishment of the Free Church, there was much downright physical suffering administered to Tongans who preferred the old faith. A number of these displayed the true martyr spirit. Others became Roman Catholics rather than join the new church and still others yielded reluctantly to the call of the new church.

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It should be noted that many Tongans have entered the ranks of missionary workers and taken an important part in Christianizing Melanesia and New Guinea.

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Some Catholic churches in Tonga still use the booming of the huge wooden native drums (lali) to summon their congregations. The Protestant churches seem largely to have adopted the less inspiring bell. I have noted, too, Catholic congregations seated cross-legged on the floor. Protestant congregations seem more generally to use benches.

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A feast for the minister after his Sunday sermon seems to be the established Methodist practice in Tonga. Apparently we have here a good old Methodist custom which fits "hand-in-glove" with the feasting of the priest at the time of inspiration in pagan days.

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Christianity has been a powerful democratizing factor in Tonga. Through it the arbitrary powers of the chiefs have been curbed and conversely the status of the commoner has been bettered. Anciently commoners were supposed to have perishable souls. To-day their souls are imperishable like a chief's. In addition to bringing about more of a balance between these two extremes of Tongan society, the

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## SKETCH OF TONGUESE RELIGION.

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and it was also his duty to maintain the god-house, or temple, in due repair and order.

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The religion of the Tonguese, as it existed when they became known to the civilized world, incorporated no abstract principles of belief. It was rather a system of despotism, in which deities, ceremonies, and restrictions, had been indefinitely multiplied, till it presented a chaos of dark superstitions, into which the population plunged head-

(565)

long, through slavish fear and ignorance. The mysteries and enactments of heathen worship, although submitted to by the chiefs themselves, unquestionably were intended more for the perpetuation of their power and influence, than to direct the ideas of the people to matters of spiritual and eternal interest, or even to those involving temporal improvement. No spirit of benevolence pervaded the system. It abounded in punishments

for the present life, and in dark threatenings for the future. *Bulotu*, the Tonguese paradise, was

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reserved only for the spirits of departed chiefs and persons of rank; who, in their turn, became the

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servants of the presiding genius of *Bulotu*, and as such were often worshipped and sacrificed to by the

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people, for the purpose of securing their interposition with the gods. Of the fate of the *tuas*, or

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common people, there was no certainty whatever; and it was doubtful whether they had any souls at

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all. A general opinion, however, did prevail, that there was a future state, and with it vague and

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conflicting notions of rewards and punishments. Their traditions referred to the creation of the

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world, and probably also to the deluge; but, even then, according to their ideas, a multiplicity

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of gods existed. Savage rites, and deities who

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## CONCLUSION

However great a wanderer a man may have been during his life-775  
 time it is amongst his own kin that he wishes to sleep his last sleep. 764  
 The gods of a country not his own would resent his being laid in 776  
 their soil and would attempt to drive him away. The unlucky exile, 602  
 therefore, would appear to his relatives in dreams and upbraid them 828  
 for their unkind behavior in leaving him to the fury of such persecu-  
 tions, and would probably soon worry them into making the desired  
 transference of his ashes. It can be very rarely, however, that the  
 deceased is driven to these desperate measures, as the Tongan ob-  
 serves the most scrupulous care in the disposal of his dead. There 774  
 is a curious story of one who left his body and visited Bulotu (Para- 772  
 dise, Hades, Abode of Hikuleo). He was absent some time, and on  
 returning to the spot where he had left his body found that his  
 friends, despairing of his ever again animating it, had buried it.  
 Since then he has wandered a discarnate spirit, known as a god in 776  
 Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa under the respective names of Fehuluni,  
 Tuihaatala, and Moso; and with this disembodied vagrant we shall  
 for the present leave the subject.

Some acknowledgments of indebtedness have been already made 115  
 in the text, but in closing these notes I desire to acknowledge my  
 special obligations to my friend and colleague the Rev. John Havea,  
 Head Master of the Tubou College in Nukualofa, whose intelligent  
 interest in all that concerns his race, and courteous patience in trying  
 to make it intelligible to the foreigner, have equally made me his  
 debtor.

TUBOU COLLEGE,  
 NUKUALOFA, TONGA.

# 4

776 Early Tongans lived in a polytheistic world that  
773 was created and maintained by gods (*'otua*), and in  
771 fact, many of the ancient songs and legends tell of  
the gods, as well as of heroes who became deified  
after death.<sup>12</sup> Tongan religious organization in  
pre-contact times and before the introduction of  
western morality was highly complex and very  
intricate in terms of internal structure.

775 Pulotu, the abode of the gods and Tonga's site of  
the hereafter, was a mythical island which some  
believed lay at an unknown distance to the  
northwest of Tonga, while others believed it lay  
beneath Tonga and had an entrance under a large  
stone or cluster of reeds. There dwelt the principal

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[p. 39-B]



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Tongan gods and the souls of deceased chiefs, nobles and *matapule*; but since commoners had no souls, they therefore had no hope of ever enjoying an afterlife. Pulotu differed from Christianity's view of paradise in that one's status in Pulotu was not affected by his life on earth, for all punishments and rewards were imposed by supernatural means upon mortals in this life.

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Wrongdoing and neglect of religious or civic duties were believed to be punishable through the gods' intervention by sickness, death, famine, drought, war or a major catastrophe. For example, in the case of theft or a similar crime, it was believed that the guilty person could easily be detected if all

[p. 39-C]

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## TONGAN RELIGION

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denotes local worship. The Malaees are however doubtless public places for that purpose, as their solemn rites are perform'd there, and their superiority with respect to situation and extent which far exceeds any of their private habitations argues; besides there can be no other reasonable conjecture offer'd about the persons who pronounce'd the orations in performing the Natche & the two that began the same thing when we first went with Poulaho, than that they were no other than priests and at that time absolutely preferring some petition to this invisible being. The next part of their creed is a belief in the plurality of deities, though all inferior to this one, amongst whom they mention Toofooa boolootoo<sup>1</sup> god of the clouds and fogg, Talle te'boo<sup>2</sup> and some others residents of the heavens. The first in rank and power, who has the government of the sea and its productions, is call'd Footoo'fooa<sup>3</sup> who they say is a male and has for wife Fykava ka'jeea,<sup>4</sup> and here as in heaven there are several inferior ones as Va'hää-fonooa;<sup>5</sup> Tareeava;<sup>6</sup> Matta'ba-E'varoo<sup>7</sup> &c. The same religious system does not however extend all over the cluster of isles; for the supreme god of Hapae for instance is call'd Alo Alo,<sup>8</sup> and other isles have two or three of different names, but their notions of the power and other attributes of these beings would be reckond erroneous with us, as they suppose that after death they have no farther concern with them.

They have however very proper notions of the immateriality and immortality of the soul. They call it life, the living principle or what is more agreeable to their notions of it an O'tooa,<sup>9</sup> divinity or invisible being, and say that immediately on death that of their chiefs seperates from the body and goes to a place calls 'Boolootoo,<sup>10</sup> the chief or god of which is Gooleho.<sup>11</sup> This Gooleho seems synonymous with our Death, for all (even you & the men of Feejee speaking to us) say they are subject to the power and dominion of Gooleho. They feign that this country was never seen by any person, is to the westward beyond Feejee<sup>12</sup> (from whence one might suppose it is the most distant land they know, as many nations have plac'd their heaven in such a

<sup>9</sup> This shows that their notions of distance & duration extend but a little way as they suppose an everlasting place may be on the globe.

<sup>1</sup> Probably this is the same as Mariner's 'Too'i foaa Bolotoo'—Tu'i fua Pulotu, 'Chief of all Pulotu'—Pulotu being the afterworld.

<sup>2</sup> Taliaitupou, the god of the Tu'i Kanokupolu; also god of war.

<sup>3</sup> This god eludes me, even though 'first in rank and power'.

<sup>4</sup> Faikavakisia, elsewhere said to be male.

<sup>5</sup> Fakafanua, or Tu'i Haa Fakafanua.

<sup>6</sup> Taliafa ?

<sup>7</sup> Matapa'i-valu ?

<sup>8</sup> Aloalo was 'God of wind and weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation in general', says Mariner, II, p. 107. His sanctuary was in Lifuka.

<sup>9</sup> O'ima.

<sup>10</sup> Pulotu.

<sup>11</sup> Hikuleo.

72 CHURCH AND STATE IN TONGA

797 contentment and tedium made their appearance. Many fell back to their old ways and Peter Turner himself lamented that 'these movements so soon die away' (P. Turner, Journal, 24 Nov. 1844).

However, Peter Turner pointed out that the revival had made many of the young men desire to work for God, and more than a hundred were brought forward who wished to be employed as exhorters or local preachers. Those who stood firm, chiefs and commoners alike, formed a very strong and militant team of evangelists who proved to be of great assistance to the work of the missionaries.

797 Foremost among these was King George himself. Before the revival movement there was an obvious want of depth in his acceptance of Christianity. When the chapel at Lifuka was constructed King George was grieved to find that the pulpit was the highest point within its walls. This was to him a violation of a taboo which maintained that no subject of his should sit or stand above him. To rectify this he had a platform built for himself on the opposite side higher than the pulpit. Later in 1833 when he took over the rulership of Vava'u he decided to inherit some of his predecessor's younger and more attractive wives as well. Peter Turner promptly disciplined him by terminating his membership of the Society.

595 In the following year King George repented, married Lupe Pau'u<sup>2</sup> in a Christian ceremony (Watkin, Journal, 27 Mar. 1834), and was readmitted to his former position in the mission. He and his wife were deeply involved in the revival movement. When he returned to Lifuka he had the tall platform in the chapel pulled down, and from that time on he sat at the same level on the floor in the chapel with his subjects. He became a local preacher, a very ardent evangelist and was instrumental in converting many of his people. Both he and his wife became class leaders assisting the development of the spiritual life of their people. Many of his fellow chiefs in Ha'apai and Vava'u followed his example.

797 As for the commoners, they had little to lose but rather much to gain by accepting Christianity. Now for the first time they

565 [774] Lupe Pau'u had been the principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga, Laufileitonga, before she eloped with Tāufa'āhau in 1833 and they were married by the missionaries in 1834.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974  
(1822-1875)

OU9 Tonga OU9

THE CONSOLIDATION 73

were told that they had souls after all, and like the chiefs they had every right to life after death. Their enthusiasm may be illustrated by the testimony of Ilaikimi Tāufa recorded by the Reverend R. Young (1854:246) during his visit to Tonga in 1853: 797 565 [774]

When the Gospel reached Tonga I heard, and was convinced of its truth, but not saved. I was converted at the great revival here. In reading the book of the Prophet Isaiah, I was powerfully impressed . . . one night it appeared to me as though a light shone within, and brought to my view my many sins . . . I saw that Christ alone could save, and that nothing else was sufficient for me. The Lord saved me: when I felt an immediate desire to praise him, and to show others the way to that good which I had obtained.

Many became very devout and sincere, and some were even prepared to give up everything they had for their faith.

It was reported that during an eruption at Niua Fo'ou friends offered to take away the native missionary, Semisi Fonua, who was looking after the work on the island, but he resolved to remain with his flock, even if he should perish with them. 'I did not come here to live only,' he replied, 'but [if necessary] to die. Just so, I am not [so much] afraid of this burning as I am afraid of meeting Jehovah in the end of time. Therefore I shall remain' (Dyson, Papers of . . . , VI:67). Such was the spirit and devotion of many of the Tongan converts who became a tremendous asset to the mission work. 797 731

The medical part of the missionaries' work continued to assume greater importance. It increasingly attracted people to the Society, who would not have gone a mile to hear a sermon, but who travelled many miles for a dose of medicine. Accordingly, dispensary hours became part of the regular routine. Some missionaries spent two hours every morning on clinical work. The success of the missionaries' medicine dealt a fatal blow to heathenism, for while it was more difficult for the Tongans to comprehend many of the abstract principles of Christianity, they could easily see the beneficial effects of medicine, especially when diseases were so prevalent and the death rate was so high. Many renounced their gods and still more began to doubt their long-established traditional beliefs. 797 758

In spite of the urgency placed on the translation of the Bible, 797 779

/246 cont./

772 world consisted of two fundamental types: (650)

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650. H. Nevermann, Götter der Südsee /Gods of the South Seas/. Stuttgart 1947. p. 75.

the high (that is, the gods, the Mana (651),

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651. "The essence that is extraordinarily effective" (that results in courage, bravery, talent, luck and physical strength in above-average measure) (ibid., p. 39).

the nobles, light and day, life and so on) and the low (that is, the commoners, darkness and night, everything that destroys, death and so on).

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People believed that a human being consisted of three parts: the body and vital energy (both of which were perishable) as well as the phantom-being that separates itself from the body after death and goes on living independently. (652)

562. H. Nevermann, loc. cit. pp. 39/40.

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The Tongans, however, qualified this by saying that only nobles possessed such phantom-beings whereas for commoners there was no life after death. (653)

653. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 121, 136.

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Thus, according to the popular belief, only the deceased nobles lived in that world beyond, which was never seen by human beings, which lay in the distant northwest and was called pulotu; there the phantom-beings of chiefs and the matapule serving them enjoyed an existence which, in accordance with their particular rank, was similar to their past earthly one, but was easier and more pleasant--quite simply, godlike. (654)

654. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 105, 108, 135.

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There, the phantom-beings of chiefs were endowed with godlike power and were able to return to Tonga and appear to priests, to their

[No p. 371 in translated manuscript--Analyst]

# 775

**775 ESCHATOLOGY**--conception of the survival of the soul; career of the soul after death (e.g., mode of departure from the body, temporary sojourn near place of death, indefinite sojourn as a disembodied soul or ghost, journey to a realm of the dead); notions about ghosts, specters, apparitions, and phantoms (e.g., shape, substance, propensities); behavior of departed souls or ghosts (e.g., haunting of houses and cemeteries, visitations); spiritualistic beliefs; conception of a realm of the dead (e.g., place, mode of life, rewards and punishment); duration of afterlife; belief in immortality; ideas of transmigration and reincarnation; conception of the survival of the body (e.g., resurrection); etc. See also:

|                                                      |            |                                                                |            |
|------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Belief in witches, vampires, and werewolves. . . . . | <b>754</b> | Communication with spirits. . . . .                            | <b>787</b> |
| Cult of the dead . . . . .                           | <b>769</b> | Notion of death and rebirth in initiation ceremonies . . . . . | <b>891</b> |



Diligent inquiry revealed no trace of the belief mentioned by Mariner that the souls of *tua* perished at death, Christianity having endowed the commoner of to-day with a soul as imperishable as a chief's. 565  
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None of the many Tongans interviewed used the word *mua* (or the plural form *kaumua*) as Mariner does, to designate a class intermediate between *matapule* and *tua*. They concur in applying *mua* to a person whose two parents are of the rank of chief and *matapule*. Such offspring are designated also as of *eiki* rank, if the chiefly parent is of high rank; or as *matapule*, if the chiefly parent is low in the scale of chiefs. One informant defined *mua* as "persons who are placed above others of their rank because of certain superior blood in their veins." Sometimes the term *eiki* is added to *mua*. Thus the late chief Tuita was spoken of as *mua eiki*, because his father as a navigator (*toutai*) was *matapule* and his mother, the daughter of the Tamaha Amelia, was of chiefly rank. 565  
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The term *mua* is used also to designate the person in the king's kava ring who is *eiki*, *matapule*, and *toutai* all in one. He may hold the first place next to the king's *matapule*; no other chief can displace him, although a chief of proper rank may seat himself next and crowd back all others on that side of the ring. The person next the *mua* who is thus displaced is called the *muaheke* (*heke*, to move on the posteriors while seated). 565  
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The word *mua* means also "one who leads or goes ahead" and in this sense is applied to a *matapule* who goes to a place in advance of his chief, as when taking kava to a house for presentation. Thus, Lotoaniu, the *matapule* of the Tui Haa Teiho, would also be the *mua* of the Tui Haa Teiho. The word *tuumua* denotes the principal person with a chief; *hulumua* means to go with chiefs, to become a *mua*. 565  
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As the position which one occupies temporarily in an assemblage depends upon the presence or absence of superiors, Tuita may serve on one occasion as *matapule* to the king and on another may act as a chief and have a *matapule* administer to him. In other words, the person of greatest importance in an assemblage, even though of relatively low rank, becomes the president, so to speak, of the assemblage, especially if there is kava drinking. But some chiefs in Tonga are of such transcendent rank that they could on no occasion serve as *matapule* even to superior chiefs. Thus Tupoutoa could not serve as *matapule* to Tungi, his superior in rank. The fact that a chief serves temporarily as a *matapule* does not mean that he permanently assumes that rank, for real *matapules*, like real chiefs, have fixed hereditary titles. 565  
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I made several attempts to get lists of people grouped according to rank. For people of higher rank, there was, of course, no difficulty; among the people of chiefly blood, but without titles, the relative rank of individuals was difficult to establish. 565

## TONGAN RELIGION

## SOURCE OF INFORMATION

My notes on the ancient religion of Tonga are scant, as might well be expected 75 years after the complete Christianization of the country. The material here presented is in part supplementary to that already published (26). Some of it is amplification of published materials by Collocott and others. <sup>128</sup> [197]

Collocott (9, pp. 152-163, 227-240) has so thoroughly portrayed the characteristics of the principal gods of Tongatabu that there is little left to do except supplement his account with further details. Farmer (23, pp. 125-146) also gives a brief sketch of the principal Tongan gods and of the functions of the priests. Most of Farmer's information was obtained from the Reverend John Thomas, a Methodist missionary. The nature of the gods is well handled by Mariner, Farmer, and Collocott. <sup>114</sup> [115]

## PULOTU

Pulotu, the unseen world, and domain of the god or goddess Hikuleo (23, p. 132), was believed to lie to the westward and to be reached by sea. A number of stories are told of voyages (26, p. 153) to Pulotu. There seems to be a certain tendency among modern Tongans to identify Pulotu with the underworld, Lolofonua. Pulotu is also identified by some modern informants with the cemetery or graveyard. Anciently, it was thought that a living man might visit Pulotu to recover a dead wife (26, p. 183), and that Hikuleo would assemble the spirits so that the wife might be selected, also that Hikuleo would then re-animate the visitor, so that he might return to the earth. <sup>772</sup> [774]

Among modern Tongans who regard Pulotu as equivalent to the underworld, two entrances are pointed out. One of them consists of a deep hole on the island of Koloa, Vavau, a hole which mythology says was the opening by which fire was brought from the underworld to this world by Maui Kisikisi. The second opening to Pulotu, in its modern identification with the underworld, is through the volcano in the island of Tofua. People who formerly lived on Tofua report that whenever someone died in the Haapai Islands, crying or singing would be heard at the volcano. If crying is heard to-day it is interpreted to mean a dead sinner; if singing, a good Christian on his way to Pulotu. There are three divisions of Pulotu called Pulotu Tete, Pulotu Akaaka, and Pulotu Tuuniau. The following quotation is from Watkin (61): <sup>775</sup> [772]

They have some idea of the future existence of the soul, but it is obscure indeed. There exist notions among them which savour something of the Hindoo notion of successive births in the future world, two deaths awaiting them after that endured in this world when they are freed from further mutation. The heaven they calculate

upon is upon the plan of Mahommed's very brothel. Pulotu Tete, Pulotu Akaaka, 775  
and Pulotu Tuumau are the names of the Tonguese three heavens. 772

Vaiola (The-water-of-life) is believed to be in Pulotu. The following 775  
brief note, translated by Beatrice Shirley Baker from a manuscript written 772  
in Tongan by Rachel Tonga, refers to it: 823

It is said in the traditions that there is a country in which there is a fountain called Vaiola and the nature of this water is healing. If a sick person washes in it, he comes up healed. If a leper bathes in it he will be clean; if an old man he becomes young, the blind see, those afflicted with elephantiasis become well, the deaf hear, the dumb speak. People afflicted with any sickness need only plunge into the water to become well. Anciently the people longed night and day to do so, but it was not known where the water was situated. Some said it was at Pulotu, the residence of the gods, and some said that it was at the lower Fiji islands.

#### DEITIES

The gods seem to have been considered as formless spirits (19, vol. 1, 776  
p. 405) who might become incarnate in any shape they desired. Thus, the 776  
god Taufu might become incarnate in his priest Kautae, in a shark, or in a 825  
gecko (*moko*). Similarly, the deity Fehuluni might appear either as a man  
or as a woman; and the goddesses Sisi and Faingaa might appear either as  
herons or as women. As a matter of fact the forms in which gods did 776  
appear seem to be strictly limited in number.

The term *fakamalanga* is applied to the god of one's mother, supposed to be kind in nature. The term also means intercessor. The word *ka* means to treat the gods with contempt.

Belief in the gods is by no means dead today in Tonga. Good Christians 795  
occasionally see, or are afflicted by, the ancient deities. Even myths con- 776  
cerning the ancient gods are still in process of creation. For instance, in [778]  
Lapaha is a cylindrical stone called Levulevukufu, which in Christian times  
has been moved from its original position in the center of the Tui Tonga's  
gateway to its present position on the west side of the main north and south  
street of Lapaha. The fact of its removal is known, yet a story is current  
that it was thrown from Eua Island to its present position by Maui.

Near Maufanga, Tongatabu, is a cave called Anapusi (Cat-cave), because 825  
some miraculous owls living there are said to have the power of assuming  
the form of cats at will. This, no doubt, is an idea that does not antedate  
the introduction of cats.

The mound called Tangata Haamea, built at Feletoa, Vavau, by the present 776  
Ulukalala for his son Tangata Haamea, who in 1921 was a clerk in the 778  
premier's office in Nukualofa, is constructed of stones taken from the platform  
(*paepae*) of an ancient god-house. The stones are supposed, as a result of

## PRIESTS AND POSSESSION

Tongan priests and priestesses suggest Turkic shamans, inasmuch as they become inspired by the gods, by lesser spirits, and by the spirits of the ancestors of chiefs or of recently deceased chiefs. The resemblance to the shamans applies particularly to those Tongan priests who became inspired by the spirits of deceased human beings, who, it was believed, came from Pulotu to convey to the living certain messages. The resemblance becomes even clearer when it is recalled that the Tongans apparently regard the spirits of chiefs and gods as being essentially alike. In fact, at the present time both gods and ghosts are called *tevolo*. The term *ulusino* refers to possession by a god or spirit. Baker defines *ulusino* as "to be possessed by evil spirits; to dwell in the body; to be one with man, applied to the gods."

If the spirit that manifested itself in a priest or priestess was of human origin, it was invariably that of a great chief, such as the Tui Tonga, rather than the spirit of a person of inferior rank. It is said that those mediums who became animated by the spirits of dead Tui Tonga had no special house of worship. They would seem not to have been regular priests who were already dedicated to the service of some god, but rather individuals who suddenly became inspired by the spirit of the deceased. Mariner (40) gives examples.

Tongan priests and priestesses further resemble shamans at least superficially, in their supposed ability to cure illness, not, of course, through their own unaided efforts but through their intercession with the gods. The sick and infirm were brought to the houses of these priests when the gods were besought to cure them. Sacrifices were offered and oracles obtained through the priest who became inspired by the god, the oracle usually foretelling the course and result of the illness.

Priesthood appears normally to have remained in particular families, and it appears that either men or women might become inspired. Priests are known by the terms *taula otua*, *taula eiki*, *taula tevolo* (devil), *toumama*, *faahikehe*, and apparently *feaa*. The word *toumama* means in general "the people or worshippers of any given god." The term *feaa* given by Farmer (23, p. 128) may be but an abbreviated form of *faahikehe*, a term also meaning god, spirit, ghost. Presumably *faahikehe* was applied only to a possessed priest.

Apparently it is permissible to regard the Tongan deities as somewhat in the nature of a North American shaman's familiar, except, of course, that the American shaman's familiar or guardian spirit does not actually enter him and speak through him. In Tonga it was impossible to obtain information about guardian spirits other than family gods.

lineal lineages. Thus, it is proper to speak only of the gods of chiefs and 776  
of lineages not of the gods of localities. Often more than one god was 613  
attached to a lineage. Thus the head of the Haa Takalaua might be under  
the protection of a great god like Finautauiku. All members of the lineage  
were likewise under that god's protection, and in addition, certain members  
of the lineage might have lesser gods as their patrons.

Aside from Tangalao Tufunga, the patron of carpenters, I could learn 776  
of no occupational deities. The attachment of a god to the head of a family 463  
might give the appearance of occupational deities. Thus, the head of a 592  
matapule family, which practiced carpentering, or functioned as undertakers,  
might have a certain deity as his patron, but as the patron of the family  
rather than of the occupation.

Not only did the priest of a lineage or family act as a medium between 793  
the lineage and the gods, but also as a medium between the lineage and the 775  
spirits of its dead. Offerings were made to these spirits by the family 769  
through the priest. It was thought that these ancestors could cause illness, 613  
a belief which doubtless led to the making of propitiatory offerings. How- 753  
ever, other more direct and retaliatory means were sometimes resorted to.  
The grave of the offending ancestor might be broken open, the bones taken  
out and beaten, and imprecations uttered. To avoid sickness caused by the 753  
spirit of the deceased relative or ancestor, Tongans did not pass through 764  
or near graveyards at night. It was thought that the spirits of ancestors 775  
sometimes became visible. Thus, at Tatakamotonga in Tongatabu, a light,  
supposed to be Tukuaho's spirit (*faahihehe*), is sometimes seen at the spot  
where the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho was murdered in 1799. Not only 776  
families headed by chiefs, but also those headed by matapule, had patron 565  
gods. Some families of commoners had a household or patron deity. 592  
The family of the great matapule Motuapuaka had the god Haele  
Feke as its patron. This god became incarnate in the octopus and 825  
there was a tapu against Motuapuaka's people eating that animal. A Meth- 784  
odist minister named Malupo, who is a member of Motuapuaka's lineage, 762  
even to-day gets a headache when he eats octopus. This god sometimes 776  
manifested himself in the priest, who conveyed verbally the messages of the 793  
god, and upon the withdrawal of the god shook so violently, that people 787  
must rush to him and hold him, in order that he might not injure himself.

The patron deity of the Tui Tonga is reported by Farmer (23) to 776  
have been Hikuleo. The patron deity of the Tui Haa Takalaua and of the 643  
great chief Tungi, was Finautauiku and the officiating priest was Moheki-  
fiehua. The patron deity of the Tui Kanokupolu was Taliai Tupou whose  
priest was called Totohoumafisi. Tui Ahau was by some informants de-  
clared to be another manifestation of Taliai Tupou, by other informants  
a separate deity. Tui Ahau was regarded as a patron of the Tui Kano-



## SANCTUARIES

According to one prominent informant, all Tongan god-houses were 778 sanctuaries to which a fugitive might flee. There seem, however, to have been certain sanctuaries which were particularly noted as places of refuge (*hufanga* or *fale hufanga*) (p. 300). A sanctuary which was violated by pursuers of a fugitive was spoken of as "leaky." For a detailed discussion of the physical features of sanctuaries, see McKern (42).

By far the most famous sanctuary in the whole kingdom was Fanakava, which, however, differed from the others in that it was only a green (*malae*) upon which there were no buildings, but only a few *ouava* trees. Fanakava was situated near the present Catholic graveyard of Loma in Lapaha, the Tui Tonga's residence in Tongatabu. Adjacent to the green of Fanakava was the tract called Fiehua in which was situated the house of the god Finautauiku. This house was also a sanctuary for fugitives.

Fanakava was the only place of its kind in all Tonga, being not merely the green of the Tui Tonga, but possessing peculiar traditional status as a place of refuge under the power of the Tui Tonga. No god was associated with it, nor was there a priest or other person associated with it in any official capacity. The green, however, was sometimes used by the Tui Tonga for kava parties. It is said that Fanakava was not even surrounded by a fence, but was a wholly open green. There is reputed to be also a Fana- 775 kava in Pulotu, the unseen world, of which the earthly Fanakava in Tongatabu is a duplicate.

In the island of Haano in Haapai is a tract called Fanakava occupied by the temple of the deity Hikuleo (p. 291). This and the fact that there is a mythical Fanakava in Hikuleo's realm of Pulotu raises the question as to whether the Fanakava in Lapaha was not really associated with that deity, especially since Hikuleo was the reputed patroness of the Tui Tonga. The word Fanakava occurs quite often as a place name in Tonga (25, p. 56). 103

Most sanctuaries had enclosing fences, within which was situated the 346 house of the presiding deity, the house being occupied by the officiating priest or priestess.

Another especially famous sanctuary was that of the god Tui Haa 776 Fakafanua, at Maufanga, Tongatabu, one of the three principal sanctuaries 778 which had the reputation of being non-leaky. By one informant this sanctuary with its presiding deity was regarded as subsidiary to the sanctuary of the god Finautauiku at Lapaha. It was said that the Lapaha god, who was a chief amongst the gods, sent the lesser deity, Tui Haa Fakafanua, to preside at Maufanga and to establish there a sanctuary. With the exception of two or three commoners who were buried within the sanctuary at the orders of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua, possibly as sacrifices, people were not buried within the enclosure of the sanctuary, according to the matapule



Tasman (30, p. 32) mentions the respect paid to the sea snake: "I have 778 seen one of these persons take up a water-snake which came floating by 825 his prow, lay it upon his head with great reverence, and then put it into the 776 water again."

Neither the large green tree lizard called *fokai*, nor the pretty little skink called *pili*, seem to have been sacred to any god.

#### MANA

The word "mana" in Tongan means "miracle, thunder; to bewitch, to 778 cause something to happen to another." Apparently the Tongan concept [77] of mana differs from the Melanesian concept, inasmuch as the power is not believed to be resident in stones and other natural objects which can be placed in a plantation or on the reef to secure success in horticultural or fishing operations. To be sure, if a man's yams grow well and his pigs 778 multiply, it is said that he has mana, but the mana is due to the favor of a 776 god, or gods, not to an impersonal supernatural power. Ghosts and de- [775] parted relatives were never the source of mana in Tonga, but only the [784] *tupui otua* or original gods. Conversely, loss of mana is due to conduct displeasing to a god.

A son can inherit his father's mana only by following his father's con- 778 duct. Should the son err, the mana may leave him, being bestowed upon [428] another man. To-day it is thought that mana attaches to a good Christian, especially a clergyman (*faipekau*). A man, poor but a good Christian, who is quickly blessed with plenty, has had mana bestowed upon him by God. A person who fails to achieve success does so because of the non-bestowal [777] of mana upon him, which is no more visible than is a god, its presence being manifested by an abundance of world's goods. One informant gave the term *mofi* (to astonish, to cause fear) as the word describing the power of a god, which is probably to a large extent equivalent to mana.

One informant took pains to emphasize that faith in the gods, not offer- [776] ings, was the necessary prerequisite to the acquisition of mana. Other in- [782] formants said that prayer and sacrifice to the gods were necessary. A per- [777] son who is endowed with mana is called a *monuia* (lucky person), a term based on the stem *monu* (lucky).

The term *manahi* (obviously based on the stem *mana*) means anger. If 778 a father were angry ("wild") at a son for two or three years, the son would 753 be likely to sicken and die. The father, however, could make him well again [593] by forgiving him and touching the son's body with his hands. Presumably the same result would follow from the anger of any superior relative. Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu, had the following to say:

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Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu, had the following to say:

If Maatu's younger brother or children vex Maatu and he is angry with them, he will say as follows, "All right. You stay and just wait and you'll know something," meaning, something bad will happen later on. In a couple of weeks one is sure to fall sick and die, and then it will be said that that is "the *manai* (verbal form of *mana*) of Maatu." Thus they would be punished for presumption. Then perhaps another will get sick. They will come to be reconciled to him, asking forgiveness and apologizing. Then he will say, "All right. I am good tempered again." After his saying that the sick one will recover. The process could not be reversed because Maatu is the higher in rank. The proof that that is true is that if one were to drink from Maatu's coconut, his neck would swell up. Maatu might cure him by *amohi*—stroking the affected part. The stomach might swell too. This can be removed by the angry person touching with his hands the affected part, or blowing on it. [*Moemoci* consists of gently pressing the affected part with the feet. This was always done by a chief (p. 118).] 778 753 554 (593) [755]

Weapons were placed in a temple in order to acquire the mana of the god. John Havea said that when a weapon has mana, it is the "abode of a spirit (*faahikehe*)" and it confers prowess and might on the user. A mana-charged club loaned to another would take its virtue with it. The method of lending was to lay the weapon across the open palm of the recipient's hand, the owner crushing and rubbing a piece of banana stalk on the weapon over the open palm of the other man's hand. This act was called *fanofano*. Vahai gave to Takai his own martial courage (*toa*) by doing *fanofano* to Takai. 778 411

Vahai's club was so full of mana that it could not lie still and was always moving (*fulefule*) as it reposed in the house. On one occasion a man was sent to fetch from the house Vahai's club, which was wrapped in a mat. Entering, he could see no club, but only the bundle of mat, which kept moving, and he thought it to be a child. Returning he said there was no club, but only this child. Vahai told him to go and bring it, which he did, it being the mana club. Vahai's club gave warning of war planned against Vahai, by moving. The movement was caused by the "mana of the god."

The ceremony of *fanofano* was also performed to transfer the ability to effect a certain cure, which includes not only the prescription, but also the mana to perform it. 778 755

## GHOSTS AND SOULS

The modern Tongans seem to distinguish between ghosts and souls. Ghosts are called *faahikehe* and more rarely *ata* (shadow); souls are called *loumalie* for a chief, *mou* for a commoner, and *lakoife* for the Tamaha, Tui Tonga, and Tui Pelehake. 775 774

Baker defines *loumalie* as "spirit, soul, life," and my informants seem to use it in these senses and to regard it as invisible during waking hours, but as appearing in dreams. According to modern Tongan belief, the *loumalie* is in God's keeping after death and stays in heaven. It may appear to a relative in a dream and when so appearing is believed to give warning. In modern Tonga no discrimination is made as to the destiny of souls on the basis of rank, as Mariner says was done in heathen Tonga. 775 787 565 [78]

The following translation of an old text refers to the destiny of souls 775 in ancient times, but without reference to rank:

It was said by the people in olden times, that when this body died it [evidently the soul and not the physical body is meant] went at once to Pulotu. When they [the souls] got there, Hikuleo (the ruler of Pulotu) chose some as posts for his fence, and some as supports for the log on which tapa is made, and some were taken as posts for the gate of Hikuleo's fence, etc."

Souls in Pulotu were thought to have earthly appearance though they are only shadows. The souls or spirits of chiefs (including the Tui Tonga) were thought to go to Pulotu, identified with the Underworld (Lolofonua) by some modern Tongans. The soul of a commoner was supposed to appear 775 as an insect on a tapa or mat specially spread after the burial. The tapa 825 was spread in the house where the commoner died and the watchers sat 565 about until an insect appeared thereon, when the mat was carefully folded and tied near the ceiling of the house and never again examined. This appearance of the soul of the deceased was called *fakaha'ele laumalis*. The souls of chiefs never appeared in insect or other animal form.

Now and then the soul of a very great man might manifest itself 775 through a priest. Ideas about reincarnation of the deceased were rare, though a story is told of a dying man who told his weeping children that he would return as a white man to care for them. Another account relates that a woman's soul, incarnate in a rat, came to visit her child. Another 825 woman's soul was said to be incarnate in a large lizard (26, p. 108). Normally, only the gods, and not the souls of men, became incarnate, in animals. The souls or spirits of men might return to this earth, however, as indicated in a narrative and poem recorded by Collocott (16, p. 96).

The term for ghosts (*faahikehe*)—also applied to the gods, to the soul, 774 and (or) the spirit—is a generic term for spiritual beings and means lit- 775 erally "different side or different half of anything divided" (in contrast to 776 human beings). Baker defines *faahikehe* as "the name for all the Tonga 196 gods; an evil spirit." One informant likened a *faahikehe* to an image in a mirror, describing it as something seen but incapable of being grasped. One informant gave the word *otua* (god) as an occasional term for ghost. The 793 word *faahikehe* is also applied to the priest, apparently when possessed by 787 the god. This usage prevailed in Mariner's time (41, vol. 2, p. 80), as well as to-day.

Some sickness is believed to be due to possession by a ghost. The treat- 775 ment is to drink an infusion of certain leaves called *loutolu* and to have the 753 infusion massaged on the body as well. When the ghost is thus driven out 787 the patient cries bitterly, "because sorry to part with the ghost." The 755 infusion may be used as a prophylactic against possession. 757

While I was in Tongatabu, a girl, who with others was shellfish gathering on a reef, fell down with some sort of seizure. She declared that the ghost of her mother's brother had struck her in the face, an attack called *ta i fuahikehe* (struck by a ghost). It was said that ghosts sometimes conversed with living relatives. 775 787

An informant of Uiha Island saw near a cemetery the ghost of a man named Nau, wearing a white head cloth and a wreath about the neck. The ghost was walking ahead of the informant, who attributed the apparition to the work of a "bush devil" (presumably Mariner's *otua pauu*, which apparently correspond with the Samoan *aitu*).

Two ghost stories pertaining to ancient persons of high rank follow.

Folokomanu is the name of a grave mound on the outskirts of Pea, Tongatabu, said to be the royal tomb of Fatafehi, the daughter of a Tui Tonga. The royal tomb Loamanu is said to be the burial place of her father and the other members of his family.

The ghost of this woman, Fatafehi, is said to have appeared to several people in modern times. On one occasion two men of Pea were returning home from a sojourn in Mua. On the road, half way home, they met a very beautiful woman, a stranger to them. They marveled that she was dressed as women dressed in olden times. After greeting her they asked her where she was going. She answered, "I have been at Folokomanu and I am going to Loamanu." Then she disappeared. Then they knew that she was not a woman, but the ghost of Fatafehi who is buried in Folokomanu.

On another occasion a Caucasian Methodist minister is said to have been bathing in a cistern (*lepa*) behind his house, when he saw a beautiful woman sitting close by watching him. Astonished, he reproved her severely for gazing at him while he was undressed for the bath. She answered with dignity that she was not bothering him; she had come there to bathe and was waiting for him to finish. Then he asked her where she lived. She answered that she lived at Folokomanu. A few days later the minister, while talking to King George II, asked him where was situated the village of Folokomanu. The King replied that Folokomanu was not a village, but a royal tomb. Then the minister told his story, upon which the King said, "That was undoubtedly not a woman, but the ghost of Fatafehi who is buried at Folokomanu."

At Longoteme, Tongatabu, stands the stone langi called Loamanu. A Female Tui Tonga is said to be buried there. A few years ago there lived an old man in Longoteme, Fonua by name, whose farm bordered the terrace of the langi. The old man was of an enterprising disposition and resolved to make use of the strip of land lying between the actual boundary line of his tract and the stone terrace of the langi. Therefore, when he planted his yams, he planted some on this virgin territory, an area that had never been so used since the construction of the langi. While he was so engaged, there appeared a beautiful woman standing upon the langi, who spoke to Fonua, saying: "You commoner, you thought to plant your yams on my grave, but you have planted them upon your own grave." Then she disappeared and the old man fell dead where he had been working. His son, coming unawares upon the scene, witnessed the tragedy. It is supposed that the woman was the spirit or ghost of the Female Tui Tonga who is interred there.

In addition to terms for the soul and ghost of a deceased person the Tongans have a term for the double or apparition of a living person, which appears at a place distant from the person. The term is *tuola*, analyzed by one informant as *tuu*, to stand, and *ola*, life. 774

There seem to be two mutually exclusive ideas as to the nature of ghosts and doubles. One idea is that they are emanations from, or constituent parts of, mortal man, like the various spiritual parts of man conceived by the ancient Egyptians. The other conception is that they are spirits or devils which by passing through the body in a grave or through a living person assume the likeness of the person. This conception makes both the ghost and the living apparition appearances taken on by evil spirits embodied in human form, rather than emanations from, or constituent parts of, the human body. It seems likely that spirits thus appearing in the form of some known person should be classified with Mariner's *otua paau* (41, vol. 2, p. 104), although no modern informant so classified them. One informant said that it was a spirit from Puluotu that might thus take on human form by passing through a grave. It is said that when a person sees a ghost he shakes all over and his hair stands on end, but no sickness follows. Ghosts are declared not to partake of food, and food offerings were said not to have been made at graves. This is perhaps to be accounted for by the belief that Puluotu is a land well supplied with the necessities of life.

At the death of a person it is believed that the ghost of a dead relative may come to take the deceased. If a ghost is seen when a chief is ill, it is thought to be a relative come to give medicine. People fear ghosts because they may take life.

A ghostly experience of the influenza epidemic in 1918 was related. Fusipunga of Lifuka, a man who worked in the government labor gang and who had withdrawn from the Free Church to join the Mormon Church, is said after death to have haunted his wife and his friend Albert of the Free Church. His ghost prevented his wife and friend from sleeping, coming at night and shaking them. It was thought that Fusipunga had done wrong and hence could not rest in peace. There were those who said that his great sin was quitting the Free Church and joining the Mormons, also sub-leasing his land to Mormons for the erection of their church.

To lay a troublesome ghost the grave is opened and the bones broken or moved. This is done especially when it is believed that the appearance of the ghost is responsible for other deaths in the family. No special term was mentioned for this act, only the term *liliu* (to change, to move) being used.

In connection with the excavation of skeletal material on the island of Kao, Haapai, by McKern and me, ghosts manifested themselves. Natives who encamped near the burial place, which was the floor of a great bubble of lava, said that they heard "a man and a woman" crying at the spot the night following the removal of the bones. A Lifuka informant had heard similar wailing following the removal of bones from a cemetery, but attributed it to the "blood" of the buried person rather than to a ghost. This belief about sentient and rational "blood" was said by another informant to be a modern innovation.



Certain natural phenomena, though not being regarded as ominous, sometimes caused alarm. Earthquakes were believed to be caused by the movements of one of the Maui who is thought to support the earth. The apparent movement of the sun to the northern tropic was observed, though not the motive for alarm or ceremony. When the sun was farthest north the season was called *faahi tau momoko* (cold season). It marked the beginning of the year and the time of yam planting. When the sun was at the southern tropic the season was called *faahi tau mafana* (warm season). 787  
825  
821

An expected eclipse of the moon which occurred in October, 1920, though causing no alarm, was regarded as indication of strong wind in a few days. The moon eclipse is called *mate mahina* (death of the moon). Similarly an eclipse of the sun is called *mate laa*. Apparently the infrequency of sun eclipses is one reason why they cause alarm. One occurred in 1918 and was evidently the first seen by many people. Although they had been forewarned by a visiting astronomer, intense alarm prevailed. The informant who had never seen one before, and who was in the bush at the time, ran for his village as fast as possible. He said the ancient belief was that the sun was a god and was angry with people and showed anger by going out. Evidently some of this belief still survived in 1918. 787  
825  
776

The activities of certain birds and lizards were believed to be especially pregnant with indications of forthcoming events. The Tongans, even to-day, take cognizance of these movements to an extent that suggests the Malaysian observation of animal movements. The gecko (*moko*) is everywhere in Tonga an omen animal. It is regarded particularly as a barometer of impending weather conditions. If it remains quiet, good weather is indicated, if it is very active, a storm is imminent. This little lizard, sacred to the god Tui Haa Fakafanua, was taken aboard vessels anciently as a barometer. Another weather indicator is the frigate bird (*lofa*), rare in Tonga, whose appearance presages a gale or hurricane. The barking of dogs at night without evident cause is a sign of the presence of ghosts. Dogs bore place and personal names anciently and were fondled and talked to by their masters (usually chiefs). There was no belief that it was dangerous to address conversation to a dog. 787  
825  
821  
775  
521

Birds played by far the most important part as omen givers. The calling of the owl (*ulu*) immediately after lamplighting is a sign of a pregnant woman in the house, and if the owl calls over a house in the middle of the night, it is a sign of impending death. If the gallinule (*kaloa*) cries close to a house, it is also considered a notification of impending death. A number of *fuleheu* birds (*Ptilotis carunculata*) flying together in a particular formation is called *fata* (bier) and is a sign of death. Another evil omen of the *fuleheu*, called *sipa*, consists in a number of them sounding the note of alarm. If a cock crows, soon after the time when the fowls 787  
825  
763  
843



A woman whose husband had recently died came with her children to a missionary. She said the children were sickly. Consumption appeared the obvious trouble, but she wanted the missionary to pray with them, maintaining that there was a curse somewhere. She had learned from conversation in their village that the children's grandfather had had a pact (held the book, *puka tohi*) with his *tuofefine* (sister or female cousin) and had concluded that this was the reason for all the disaster. 753 [64]

A man had been sick for sometime, and so all his family were cross-examined as to their acts. It developed that one of his sons had gone to Niuafoou some time before with his cousin's wife. He was supposed to look after her on the voyage and performed his duties too tenderly. That was the reason of his father's illness, so it was thought, but whether the son's confession did the old man any good was not learned. 835

On page 334 I have recounted an incident in which the child of a Tui Tonga became ill because of the intrigue of its mother, while the Tui Tonga was in Haapai. Certain other acts were believed to have serious consequences for one doing them. (See pp. 18, 118, 335, 343, 344.) 837

Dreams of a certain type are believed to cause certain ailments. (See p. 337.) 828

To kill the white tern when on a voyage is believed to bring illness. To point at a rainbow, or at the setting sun, is believed to give one elephantiasis in the arm. It is not injurious, however, to look at a rainbow. 825 [821]

If women, bathing in a certain pool or passing near the western cemetery at Maufanga, Tongatabu, saw a gecko, they said that Tui Haa Fakafanua (a god who becomes incarnate in the *gecko*) had entered one of them because he liked her. Pining away and death were the result. Even today, when a girl at Maufanga dies, it is often said that Tui Haa Fakafanua has caused her death. Convent girls from the Hahake district of Tongatabu are said to be particularly liable to such attacks because the Hahake people and the Maufanga people were formerly at enmity. 753 776 787 [761]

Other gods or demons were also believed to enter into living persons and cause illness. To drive out such an unwelcome tenant, the affected part of the body was tightly held and massaged, working the demon to an extremity of the body to force him out, at the same time using magic words. 755

In November, 1920, there occurred an alleged attack by the spirit of a dead man. 753 775

A number of girls from the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, were gathering shellfish at Anana, in the lagoon at Tongatabu. One of the girls said that she was attacked by the spirits of three of her deceased relatives, who approached her in a boat while she was standing on the reef. Her symptoms were bleeding from the nose and cramps in the legs, and she declared that her deceased mother's brother, David Alatoa, struck her on the nose. The attack was of course not seen by her companions.

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following:

A man from Vavau, a short time ago, died suddenly in a village called Fakakakai in Haapai from hemorrhage of the lungs. A man from the village came into the store on the day he died and was discussing the matter with a woman from here (Pukotala) in the course of which she said that he (the deceased) might have been struck by evil spirits and then enquired if he had any relatives buried here. The answer was that his mother had died in Fakakakai, on hearing this the woman immediately said, "There, that is the reason of his sudden death." 763 775 [165]

The Tongans believe that the dead have the ability to cause the sudden death of anyone. I have known many instances in which a person has dreamed of a dead relative several times in succession and, as a means of stopping it and preventing the dead from killing the living, has gone to the graveyard and dug up the bones, in some cases whilst there was still flesh upon them, and thrown them into the sea, or chopped them up. This method is looked upon as infallible. 763 775 764

When a man is taken ill his sons go as far away as possible, until he is dead, so that the disease will not attack them. The house and bed he died in are usually burned and the sons coming after will not walk over the spot for fear of infection! Anyone else may do so with impunity. 763 753 768 593

Food carried over a graveyard, as by a small child who did not realize what he was doing, was not eaten, as death or other dire results would ensue. 763 784 764 262

## OATHS

An oath (*fuakava*) was also called *iea tuki* (*iea*, speech; *tuki*, a superstitious practice by which thieves and other miscreants are said to be accursed), according to Baker (2). Apparently Baker refers to the administering of an oath, which, if taken by a thief, would result in his death. The conception of the oath seems to be ancient, and the idea is quite deep-seated that swearing falsely results in death. 626 763 695

While I was in Tonga a gold finger ring was lost in a girls' boarding school. Inquiry failing to locate it, the girls suggested that they be put on oath, preferably by the police, for then if the thief were one of themselves and took oath, she would die. Presumably, however, she could have averted such a fate by confession. 695 626 685 763 783

The Bible is at times used in sealing a pact, often between a man and a woman. "They hold the book," as the Tongans express it. Such a pact is called *puke tohi*. It is frowned upon by the clergy and in general is regarded as a wrong deed, which may act as a curse upon the families of the book holders. 675 779 782

Examples of oaths occur in certain Tongan poems. "Lest my mother be sterile" is put in the mouth of the Samoan chief Sinilau (26, p. 148). The poet Fusitouone sings: "Listen while I swear by the bamboo that waves." 782

## TAPU

In Tonga, as elsewhere in Polynesia, distinction is made between things inherently tapu, such as sanctuaries and the persons of chiefs, and things which are temporarily tapu, such as food products reserved for a feast. Temporary tapus may be placed by a chief, by a priest, or by a modern practitioner skilled in curing as well as "causing" certain ailments. Tapus placed by chiefs seem to have been backed by no supernatural sanction. Tapus placed by a priest called for the vengeance of a god upon the tapu 784 [171]

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of the sun, several of them bore their torments with the greatest fortitude, although lingering till the eighth day; others of weaker constitution died in three or four days. Ever since that time the natives of the place superstitiously believe that they can hear their groans frequently at different times during the night:— but this no doubt is occasioned by the roaring of the surf at a distance, or of the sea in subterraneous caverns, which, working upon the imagination, to a certain extent may resemble the groans of dying people\*.

Finow, and his ally Toobó Nuha, after public rejoicings at Haano, embarked for Vavaoo, where they were allowed to land without opposition. The people of this island, however, had heard of the assassination of Toogoo Ahoo by a canoe from the Hapai islands, and were determined to resist the claims of Finow, not by an open war, but in a mode much more harassing and tedious; and he accordingly found the reduction of Vavaoo exceedingly troublesome and dangerous. The enemy, always avoiding a general engagement, frequently molested them with sudden and violent assaults, either under cover of the darkness of the night, or during the day

\* The natives do not regard this as any thing awful, or as a memento of the crime of their chief, but as a matter of curiosity, without attempting to assign any reason for it.

789 shortly afterwards swooned away; when recovered from this, still finding himself very ill, he  
 154 was taken to the house of a priest \*, who told  
 755 the sick chief that it was a woman, mentioning  
 763 her name, who had died two years before, and  
 was now in Bolotoot, that had inspired him;  
 that she was deeply in love with him, and wished  
 him to die (which event was to happen in a  
 few days,) that she might have him near her:  
 the chief replied that he had seen the figure of  
 a female two or three successive nights in his  
 sleep, and had begun to suspect he was inspired  
 by her, though he could not tell who she was.  
 He died two days afterwards. Mr. Mariner  
 visited the sick chief three or four times, at the  
 house of the priest, and heard the latter foretell  
 his death and the occasion of it.

787 Now we are upon this subject it may not be  
 154 amiss to mention that Finow's son, who at this  
 period of our history was at the Navigator's  
 islands, used to be inspired by the spirit† of

[799] \* It is customary to take sick persons to the house of a  
 priest, that the will of the gods may be known. The priest  
 becomes immediately inspired, and remains almost constantly  
 in that state while the sick person is with him. If  
 he does not get better in two or three days he is taken to another  
 priest, &c.

[775] † Bolotoo is the name they give to their paradise, and is  
 supposed to be an island to the north-westward.

[775] ‡ The souls of deceased nobles become gods of the second  
 rank in Bolotoo.

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surrounding scenery, or to reflect on the fate of those rebellious men, who, so long ago, departed from the scene of public tumult, by dying in an unsuccessful attempt to change the order of things. Here the moral reflections of the natives are sometimes heard in the following strain; "Where now are those men who once held up their heads in defiance of their chiefs? where now is the proud boast of superiority? Their bodies lie here mingled with the dust, and their names are almost forgotten\*!—But their souls! how are they affected? are they now the same ambitious spirits in Bolotoo, as they were once in Tonga, when they animated this silent dust which is now all that remains of them?—are they still the partizans of sedition, tumult, and war?—but no! in Bolotoo they are all gods, and see with a clear understanding what is right, without the folly of fighting!"

Such are the reflections of those who visit this spot and view the lonesome habitations of the dead; but it is not often that such visits are made, owing to the difficulty of the ascent,

\* The names of some of these chiefs are still known to a few of the old matabooles, who have been at the pains of inquiring particulars from their fathers; but the cause in which they suffered is very imperfectly understood, and, no doubt, mixed up with a great deal of invention and surmise.

823 and the toil and trouble which it necessarily  
 404 occasions. In the estimation of the romantic,  
 {607} however, this trouble is amply repaid by the  
 {829} rich and extensive scenery on every side, whilst  
 {775} the murmuring of the waves, breaking upon  
 {669} the rocks below, soothes the mind with a pleas-  
 ing melancholy easier to be conceived than de-

823 scribed. The effect which this works upon the  
 533 minds of the natives will be more easily under-  
 stood when we see a sample of their descriptive

songs, which in language, like that of Ossian,  
 [128] are plaintive and pathetic. In the first place,  
 however, it is necessary to state a few particu-  
 lars relative to this romantic and diversified  
 spot, that certain passages of the ensuing song  
 may be better understood.

197 On the right of the wood of *tamanoo* trees  
 515 there is another wood, consisting almost wholly  
 of *tob* trees: here the natives frequently resort  
 to rinse themselves with the fresh water found  
 in the hollows, between the junctions of the  
 large branches or limbs that come off imme-  
 diately from the trunk, after having bathed  
 themselves in the sea: for the salt water, with-  
 out using such rinsing afterwards, is apt to  
 produce, in hot climates, a cutaneous eruption:  
 besides which, the fresh water washing prevents  
 that uneasy sensation of heat in the skin, upon  
 a little exertion, attended with a clamminess;



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of what they declared to be the sentiments of the god was their own invention; and this particularly in regard to what did not suit his own sentiments. He never, however, declared his opinion of these things in public; though he expressed them, very decidedly, to Mr. Mariner, and some of his intimate friends. He used to say that the gods would always favour that party in war, in which there were the greatest chiefs and warriors. He did not believe that the gods paid much attention in other respects to the affairs of mankind; nor did he think they could have any reason for doing so,—no more than man could have any reason or interest in attending to the affairs of the gods. He believed in the doctrine of a future state, agreeably to the notions entertained by his countrymen; that is, that chiefs and matabooles, having souls, exist hereafter in Bolotoo, according to their rank in this world; but that the common people, having no souls, or those only that die with their bodies, are without any hope of a future existence.

Such was the character of the late How of the Tonga islands,—a character not without a considerable share of merit; in some respects not unworthy imitation, and in every respect highly interesting.—We have pourtrayed it at some length, because such characters do not

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

Enumeration of the principal notions on which the religion of Tonga is founded—Traditionary account of the island of Bolotoo—Division of the gods into six classes—Names and attributes of the principal original gods—Souls of Chiefs—Souls of Matabooles—Other Hotooas or inhabitants of Bolotoo—Hotooa Pow, or mischievous gods—The god that supports the earth—Observations upon death—Origin of the habitable earth, or rather of the islands of Tonga—Popular traditions respecting the original inhabitants of Tonga—Remarks—Another tradition respecting the same subject—Fiji story respecting an island of immortal women—Popular account of the origin of Turtles—General notion of the earth, sky, and heavenly bodies—Notions respecting the human soul and animal life—Ideas concerning the liver—The soul's immortality—Notions of the Fiji people in regard to the soul.

THE RELIGION of the Tonga islands rests chiefly upon a belief of the following notions.

1. That there are Hotooas, gods, or superior beings, who have the power of dispensing good and evil to mankind, according to their merit, but of whose origin they form no idea, rather supposing them to be eternal.
2. That there are other Hotooas or gods, viz. the souls of all deceased nobles and matabooles, who have a like power of dispensing good and evil, but in an inferior degree.

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8. That all *egi* or nobles have souls, which exist hereafter in Bolotoo, not according to their moral merit, but their rank in this world, and then they have power similar to the original gods, but less. The matabooles also go to Bolotoo after death, where they exist as matabooles or ministers to the gods, but they have not the power of inspiring priests: the mooas, according to the belief of some, also go to Bolotoo, but this is a matter of great doubt. But the tooas, or lower class of people, have no souls, or such only as dissolve with the body after death, which consequently ends their sentient existence. 771 775 565
9. That the human soul during life is not a distinct essence from the body, but only the more etherial part of it, and which exists in Bolotoo, in the form and likeness of the body, the moment after death. 771 774 775
10. That the primitive gods and deceased nobles sometimes appear (visibly) to mankind, to warn or to afford comfort and advice: that the primitive gods also sometimes come into the living bodies of lizards, porpoises, and a species of water snake, hence these animals are much respected; their coming into porpoises is supposed to be for the purpose of taking care of vessels, &c. 771 776 787 825
11. That the two personages at the Tonga 771 776 643 565

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perpetrator; theft, except it be consecrated property. [771]

16. Omens are considered direct indications of the gods to mankind : charms or superstitious ceremonies to bring evil upon any one are considered for the most part infallible, as being generally effective means to dispose the gods to accord with the curse or evil wish of the malevolent invoker; to perform these charms is considered cowardly and unmanly, but does not constitute a crime. [673] [787] [789]

The Tonga people universally and positively believe in the existence of a large island, lying at a considerable distance to the north-westward of their own islands, which they consider to be the place of residence of their gods, and of the souls of their nobles and matabooles. This island is supposed to be much larger than all their own islands put together, to be well stocked with all kinds of useful and ornamental plants, always in a state of high perfection, and always bearing the richest fruits and the most beautiful flowers according to their respective natures; that when these fruits or flowers are plucked, others immediately occupy their place, and that the whole atmosphere is filled with the most delightful fragrance that the imagination can conceive, proceeding from these immortal plants; [772] [775] [824] [825]

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any resistance. They at length saw some of <sup>772</sup>  
 the hotooas, who passed through the substance <sup>773</sup>  
 of their bodies as if there were nothing there:  
 the hotooas recommended them to go away im-  
 mediately, as they had no proper food for them,  
 and promised them a fair wind and a speedy  
 passage. They accordingly put directly to sea,  
 and in two days, sailing with the utmost velo-  
 city, they arrived at Hamoa, (the Navigator's  
 islands,) at which place they wanted to touch  
 before they went to Tonga. Having remained  
 at Hamoa two or three days, they sailed for  
 Tonga, where they arrived with great speed,  
 but in the course of a few days they all died,  
 not as a punishment for having been at Bolo-  
 too, but as a natural consequence; the air of  
 Bolotoo, as it were, infecting mortal bodies  
 with speedy death. The hotooas are supposed <sup>776</sup>  
 to have no canoes, not requiring them; for if  
 they wish to be any where, there they are the  
 moment the wish is felt.

The HOTOOAS, or supernatural intelligent  
 beings, may be divided into classes.

1. The original gods.
2. The souls of nobles, that have all attributes <sup>776</sup>  
 in common with the first, but inferior in <sup>775</sup>  
 degree.
3. The souls of matabooles, that are still in-

716  
[715] ferior, and have not the power, as the two first have, of coming back to Tonga to inspire the priests, though they are supposed to have the power of appearing to their relatives.

4. The original attendants, or servants, as it were, of the gods, who, although they had their origin, and have ever since existed in Bolotoo, are still inferior to the third class.

5. The Hotooa Pow, or mischievous gods.

6. Moooi, or the god that supports the earth, and does not belong to Bolotoo.

The first class, or original hotooas, are supposed to be rather numerous, perhaps about three hundred; but the names of very few are known, and those only to some of the chiefs and matabooles; for it may easily be supposed that, where no written records are kept, only those whose attributes particularly concern the affairs of this world should be much talked of; as to the rest, they are, for the most part, merely tutelar gods to particular private families, and having nothing in their history at all interesting, are scarcely known to any body else.

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[778] Several of these primitive hotooas have houses dedicated to them; the houses are built in the usual style, but, generally, somewhat more care is taken, both in building them, and keeping



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· Too'r Bolo'too; literally, *chief of Bolotoo*. 776  
 This and the three following gods are all minor 823  
 gods of the sea and of voyages, and protectors 734  
 of Finow's family. Notwithstanding his name,  
 he is inferior to all the gods mentioned before  
 him; but much upon an equality with the three  
 following. He has two houses dedicated to him 778  
 at Vavaoo, and one at Lefooga; none elsewhere 793  
 that Mr. Mariner knew of: he has, perhaps,  
 two or three priests.

HA'LA A'PI A'PI; literally, *a road crowded*.  
 He has the same attributes as Tooi Bolotoo.  
 Mr. Mariner knows of no house dedicated to 778  
 him. He has one priest. 793

TO'GI OOCUMME'A; literally, *an iron axe*. The  
 same attributes as the above.

TOOBO' BOO'GOO; literally, *Toobo the Short*.  
 The same attributes as the above.

TANGALO'A; god of artificers and the arts: 778  
 doubtful if he has any house dedicated to him: 793  
 has several priests, who are all carpenters. It 322  
 was this god that brought the Tonga islands 772  
 from the bottom of the sea, whilst fishing.

Such are the names and attributes of the  
 chief primitive gods; next to those in rank and  
 power come the souls of nobles.

Souls of EGIES, or NOBLES: of these there 775  
 must be a vast number. Their attributes are 769  
 similar to those of the primitive chief gods: 787

775 they have the power of inspiring priests, and of  
 769 appearing in dreams and visions to their re-  
 [787] latives and others. They have no houses de-  
 [778] dicated to them, but the proper places to invoke  
 them are their graves, which are considered  
 sacred, and are therefore as much respected as  
 consecrated houses. Their names are the same  
 775 as they had whilst living, and they hold the  
 776 same rank mutually among themselves as they  
 [784] held during their mortal existence; and whether  
 their deeds were good or evil during their life,  
 is a circumstance that does not at all affect their  
 state in Bolotoo, all punishments for crimes  
 being supposed to be inflicted by the primitive  
 gods upon men during their lifetime; in which  
 inflictions the second class of gods have a pro-  
 [82] portional power with the first. As many of  
 these souls of nobles have had strong warlike  
 dispositions in this world, it might be supposed  
 that they waged war against one another in  
 Bolotoo; but this is not the case, for, in that  
 state of existence, their understanding is much  
 more clear than in this world, enabling them to  
 discern what is right, and disposing them to  
 choose it in preference to what is wrong: not  
 but what they, and even the primitive gods,  
 have verbal disputes, but which, from the clear-  
 ness of their intellect, and the justice of their  
 views, are supposed to be managed with divine

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temperance; but as the temperate discussion of gods may appear awful violence to weak-minded man, so it is not to be wondered that such disputes at Bolotoo should produce thunder and lightning at Tonga; as happened in the discussion among the gods respecting the fate of Finow and his daughter. (Vide vol. 1.)

The SOULS of MATABOOLES come next: these little need be said; they hold the same name and rank as during their life. They have not the power of inspiring priests; they cannot punish nor reward mankind, at least by any direct influence; though their friends and relatives sometimes beg their intercession with the higher gods, in behalf of their health, or prosperity, &c. They have no houses dedicated to them; they sometimes appear to their friends. Some of them are tutelar gods, and protectors of the *toos*, or lower orders, which they are, as it were, by permission.

The ATTENDANTS, or SERVANTS OF THE PRIMITIVE GODS. These, like the gods to whom they belong, are original inhabitants of Bolotoo. They are considered of less quality than the souls of matabooles. They have no power in Tonga, and if they go there they cannot manifest themselves. Their number is supposed to be immense.

The HOTOOA Pow, or mischievous Gods.—

A [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 350-378--Analyst]

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## RELIGIOUS TENETS

774 and power of the soul or mind. They have no  
 826 clear distinction between the life and the soul, but  
 they will tell you that the *fotomanava* (the right  
 826 auricle of the heart) is the seat of life. They  
 828 form no idea respecting the use of the brain,  
 unless it be, perhaps, the seat of memory; (they  
 have a distinct word for memory, *manatoo* :) they  
 derive this notion from the natural action of  
 putting the hand to the forehead, or striking  
 the head gently when trying to remember any  
 [762] thing. The liver they consider to be the seat  
 of courage, and they pretend to have remarked  
 (on opening dead bodies), that the largest  
 livers (not diseased), belong to the bravest  
 826 men. They also say they have made another  
 [827] observation respecting this viscus, viz. that, in  
 left-handed people, it is situated more on the  
 left than on the right side; and, in persons  
 that are ambidexter, it is placed as much on  
 one side as on the other. They are very well  
 acquainted with the situation of all the principal  
 viscera.

565 They acknowledge that the *tooas*, or lower  
 774 order of people, have minds or souls; but they  
 775 firmly believe that their souls die with their  
 bodies, and, consequently, have no future ex-  
 istence. The generality of the *tooas*, them-  
 selves, are of this opinion, but there are some  
 who have the vanity to think they have immor-

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tal souls as well as matabooles and chiefs, and which will live hereafter in Bolotoo. There seems to be a wide difference between the opinions of the natives in the different clusters of the South Sea islands respecting the future existence of the soul. Whilst the Tonga doctrine limits immortality to chiefs, matabooles, and at most, to mooas, the Fiji doctrine, with abundant liberality, extends it to all mankind, to all brute animals, to all vegetables, and even to stones and mineral substances. If an animal or a plant die, its soul immediately goes to Bolotoo; if a stone or any other substance is broken, immortality is equally its reward; nay, artificial bodies have equal good luck with men, and hogs, and yams. If an axe or a chisel is worn out or broken up, away flies its soul for the service of the gods. If a house is taken down, or any way destroyed, its immortal part will find a situation on the plains of Bolotoo: and, to confirm this doctrine, the Fiji people can shew you a sort of natural well, or deep hole in the ground, at one of their islands, across the bottom of which runs a stream of water, in which you may clearly perceive the souls of men and women, beasts and plants, of stocks and stones, canoes and houses, and of all the broken utensils of this frail world, swimming, or rather tumbling along one over the other pell-mell into the regions of immortality. Such is the Fiji philosophy, but

775 the Tonga people deny it, unwilling to think  
171 that the residence of the gods should be encum-  
bered with so much useless rubbish. The na-  
tives of Otaheite entertain similar notions re-  
specting these things, viz. that brutes, plants,  
and stones, exist hereafter (see Captain Cook's  
Voyage), but it is not mentioned that they ex-  
tend the idea to objects of human invention.

[124] Mr. Mariner is not acquainted with the notions  
of the Sandwich islanders upon these subjects:  
what we have related respecting those of the  
Fiji people he obtained from Fiji natives re-  
sident at Vavaoo, from Tonga people who had  
visited the Fiji islands, and from the natives of  
Pau, when he was there.

775 The human soul, after its separation from  
565 the body, is termed a *hotooa* (a god or spirit),  
and is believed to exist in the shape of the  
body; to have the same propensities as during  
life, but to be corrected by a more enlightened  
understanding, by which it readily distinguishes  
good from evil, truth from falsehood, right from  
wrong; having the same attributes as the ori-  
ginal gods, but in a minor degree, and having  
its dwelling for ever in the happy regions of  
Bolotoo, holding the same rank in regard to  
other souls as during this life: it has, however,  
the power of returning to Tonga to inspire  
priests, relations, or others, or to appear in  
dreams to those it wishes to admonish; and



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sometimes to the external eye in the form of a ghost or apparition: but this power of re-appearance at Tonga particularly belongs to the souls of chiefs, rather than of matabooles. It was thought that Finow the first was occasionally visited by a deceased son of his, not visibly, but announcing his presence by whistling. Mr. Mariner once heard this whistling, as he was with the king and some chiefs in a house at night lying on their mats: it was dark, and the sound appeared to come from the loft of the house. Mr. Mariner thinks this to have been some trick of Finow's. The natives believed it to be a spirit. It is to be observed that they consider it *taboo* to whistle, as being disrespectful to the gods. It has already been stated, that the gods are believed sometimes to enter into the bodies of lizards, porpoises and water snakes; but this power belongs only to the original gods, not to the souls of chiefs.

There is no future place of existence for the souls of men but Bolotoo, and, consequently, no state of future punishment; all rewards for virtue, and punishments for vice, being inflicted on mankind in this world, as before noticed. When Mr. Mariner acquainted some of them with the Christian doctrine of eternal punishment, they said that it was "very bad indeed for the Papalangies."

## MORALS.

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religious opinions of the Tonga people, and an<sup>128</sup> account of the habits of their divine chiefs and priests, we shall proceed to unfold, with as much accuracy and impartiality as possible, their notions and habits of morality; and in another chapter conclude the subjects connected with religion, by a detail of their religious ceremonies.

Moral virtue will appear to have a very<sup>577</sup> slender foundation in these islands, when we<sup>192</sup> consider that the natives believe in no future<sup>[775]</sup> place of reward, but what a man will equally possess, whether he live virtuously or not, and that they have no idea of a future state of punishment of any kind or degree whatsoever; and our opinion of their notions of moral virtue will not be much exalted, when, on a strict examination of their language, we discover no words essentially expressive of some of the higher qualities of human merit, as virtue, justice, humanity; nor of the contrary, as vice, injustice, cruelty, &c. They have indeed expressions for these ideas, but they are equally applicable to other things. To express a virtuous or good man, they would say *tangata lillé*, a good man, or *tangata loto lille*, a man with a good mind; but the word *lille*, good (unlike our word virtuous), is equally applicable to an axe, canoe, or any thing else: again, they

577 have no word to express humanity, mercy, &c.  
 192 but *ofa*, which rather means friendship, and is  
 a word of cordial salutation: neither have they  
 any word expressive of chastity, except *nofo-  
 mow*, remaining fixed or faithful, and which in  
 this sense is only applied to a married woman,  
 to signify her fidelity to her husband; but in  
 another sense it is applicable to a warrior, to  
 signify his loyalty and attachment to his chief.

577 Farthermore, when we learn that theft, revenge,  
 673 rape, and murder, under many circumstances,  
 are not held to be crimes, we shall be tempted  
 to exclaim, How miserable are these wretched  
 people! the virtues have left their abode, and  
 they are given up a prey to every evil passion!  
 The picture is indeed dark, but we must throw  
 a little more light upon it, and approach to take  
 a nearer view.

776 The Tonga people do not indeed believe in  
 any future state of rewards and punishment, but  
 778 they believe in that first of all religious tenets,  
 775 that there is a power and intelligence superior  
 to all that is human, which is able to control  
 their actions, and which discovers all their most  
 secret thoughts; and though they consider this  
 power and intelligence to be inherent in a num-  
 ber of individual beings, the principle of belief  
 is precisely the same; it is perhaps equally  
 strong, and as practically useful as if they con-

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sidered it all concentrated in their chief god. 716  
They firmly believe that the gods approve of 718  
virtue, and are displeased with vice; that every 715  
man has his tutelar deity, who will protect him 784  
as long as he conducts himself as he ought to 753  
do; but, if he does not, will leave him to the 761  
approaches of misfortune, disease, and death.  
And here we find some ground on which to 577  
establish a virtuous line of conduct: but this is  
not sufficient: there is implanted in the human  
breast a knowledge or sentiment which enables  
us sometimes, if not always, to distinguish be-  
tween the beauty of disinterestedness and the  
foul ugliness of what is low, sordid, and selfish;  
and the effect of this sentiment is one of the  
strongest marks of character in the natives of  
these islands. Many of the chiefs, on being  
asked by Mr. Mariner what motives they had  
for conducting themselves with propriety, be-  
sides the fear of misfortunes in this life, replied,  
the agreeable and happy feeling which a man  
experiences within himself when he does any  
good action, or conducts himself nobly and ge-  
nerously, as a man ought to do: and this ques-  
tion they answered as if they wondered such a  
question should be asked. After this, we can-  
not but suppose (unless we are led by prejudice),  
that the seeds of very great virtues are implanted  
in their breasts; and it would be very unrea-

- 103 Makahoko. A joining stone [maka, stone; hoko, to join]. Tract on Fetoa Island (H).
- [173] Makahokovalu. Eight joined stones [maka, stone; hoko, to join; valu, eight].  
[764] Tomb or mound on Uiha Island (H). On tract Likutapu; reputed to have been built by twenty-ninth Tui Tonga, Telea.
- [764] Makahopa. Banana rock [maka, rock; hopa, banana]. Tract near Vaotuu, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.
- [764] Makahunu. Stones for the oven. Stone in the royal tomb Langifoou, near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract on Niuafoou Island (NF).
- Makai. The name of a tree. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua Island (T).
- Makakehe. Different rock [maka, rock; kehe, different]. Tract on Niuafoou Island (NF).
- Makakiva. A small stone cave [maka, stone; kiva, a small cave]. Tract on Atata Island (T)—Ata, landlord.
- [764] Makakopau. Stone named Pau [maka, stone; ko, prefix; pau, a personal name]. A large stone, apparently in the royal tomb Langitofausa, near Lapaha (?), village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Makalafalafa. A flat stone [maka, stone; lafalafa, flat]. Tract on Hunga Island (V)—Fulivali, landlord.
- Makalolongo. The rock of sharks in a shoal [maka, rock; lolongo, sharks in a shoal]. Tract on Ovaka Island (V).
- [764] Makaluani. Stone of Luani [maka, stone; luani, title of a chief]. A large stone apparently in the royal tomb Langitofausa, near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Makamaka. Stony, rocky. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord. Also tract near Fuaamotu, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract on Ofu Island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.
- [764] Makamataele. A fish stone [maka, stone; mataele, a fish]. More likely, stone of Mataele, a chief. Stone in Langitofausa near Lapaha (?), village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Makao. Deep rock [maka, rock; oo, deep]. Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau (V).
- [775] Makaoa. Rocks that are near together. A great rock said to stand between the islands of Eua and Kalau (T) and to mark the road to Pulotu, the land of the departed.
- Makaotea. Stone of whitish color [maka, stone; o, of; tea, whitish, light in color]. Tract near Valpoa, village on Niuaotuputu Island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- Makapapa. A flat bed of stones [maka, stone; papa, a flat bed of stones]. Tract near Puke, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Fohe, landlord. Also place on Tongatabu Island (T). On weather shore. Also tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau Island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.
- Makapasi. Stone of hand clapping [maka, stone; pasi, to clap hands]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau Island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.
- [764] Makapau. Stone of Pau [maka, stone; pau, a person's name, probably Pau, the thirty-sixth Tui Tonga]. A stone in the royal tomb Langitutesu, near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Makapulepule. Spotted rock [maka, rock; pulepule, spotted]. Rock (H). In Ahanga passage between Lifuka and Foa Islands.
- Makasiale. Gardenia rock [maka, rock; siale, gardenia]. Tract on Taunga Island (V)—Akauola, landlord.
- Makasialetafa. Rock of the sialetafa shrub [maka, rock; sialetafa, a shrub with white flowers]. Rock on weather shore of Tongatabu Island (T).

- 103 Puskalahi. Large pig [puaka, pig; lahi, large]. Tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Nuku, landlord.
- Puskatea. Whitish pig [puaka, pig; tea, whitish]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Pualiki. Small pua tree [pua, a tree; liki, small]. Tract near Valpoa, village on Niuafoou island (NF)—Maatu, landlord.
- Pualoto. Central pua tree [pua, a tree; loto, central]. Tract near Fahefa, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veehala, landlord.
- Pualeutoko. A place where pua trees and loutoko breadfruit grow together [pua, a tree; loutoko, a kind of breadfruit]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Pustokia. Ravished pua tree [pua, a tree; tokia, to ravish]. Tract near Haateiho, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract near Velutongo, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Pue. To win, to be first. Tract near Petani, village on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Puha. A box. Tract near Fotua, village on Foa island (H)—Tui Pelehake, landlord.
- Puhaava. Open box [puha, box; ava, open]. Tract on Nomuka island (H).
- Puhamomala. Heat and evil [puha, heat; mo, and; mala, evil]. Beach on Tongatabu island (T). On weather shore.
- Puhao. Box of [puha, box; o, of, belonging to]. Tract near Nukuhitulu, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Puki Rock. [Puki, to spit]. Rock near Ofolanga island (H).
- Puholatu. The brain pan of the bonito [puho, brain pan of fish; i, in; atu, bonito]. Tract near Ohonus, village on Eua island (T).
- Pui. To give orders. Tract near Vaotuu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord.
- Pukatefua. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Puke. The outworks of a fortress. Village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V).
- Pukefeo. To grasp coral [puke, to grasp; feo, coral]. Reef on west side of Lifuka island (H).
- Puketefua. Assembled yam hillocks [puke, the hillock or mound in which the yam is planted; tefua, to be assembled together]. Tract near Tongamamao, village on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Pukitua. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Puko. Name of a tree. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Fouj—Vahai, landlord, Houma—Vaea, landlord, and Niutoua. Also tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Angaha, village on Niuafoou island (NF).
- [775] Pukelea. Talking puko tree [puke, a tree; lea, to talk]. A mythical tree of Pulotu, the world of the departed.
- Pukota. Row of puko bananas [puke, a variety of the banana; ta, a row of bananas]. Tract near Houma, village on Eua island (T). Also tract near Leimatus, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Pelehake, landlord.
- Pukotala. Puko tree where matters are spoken of [puke, a tree; tala, to speak of]. Tract on Haano island (H). Also village on Haano island (H). Also district near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H).
- Puketatanea. The puko tree like a large kava bowl [puke, a tree; tatanea, a large kava bowl]. Tract on Nomuka island (H).
- Pukotefua. Assembled puko trees [puke, a tree; tefua, to assemble]. Tract near Haveluliku, village on Tongatabu island (T).



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- Pukotuutaha.** One standing puko tree [puko, a tree; tuu, to stand; taha, one]. 103  
Tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).
- Pukovili.** The name of a tree. Tract on Atata island (T)—Ata, landlord. Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Pula.** A cowry. Tract near Nukuleka, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).
- Pulefanga.** To govern the landing place [pule, to govern; fanga, landing place]. Tract near Foliaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Puleia.** That which is governed [pule, to govern]. Tract near Haatafu, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Puleleia.** To be governed by himself [pulei, to be governed; e, by; ia, himself]. Village on Ofolanga island (H).
- Pulekoleva.** Governor forthwith [pule, governor; ko, prefix; leva, forthwith]. Tract in Nelafo, village on Vavau island (V).
- Pulemou.** Governor of life [pule, governor; mou, life]. A tract on Uifa island (H), that formerly belonged to a deity.
- Puleniasi.** In charge of the fire [pulen, in charge of; asi, fire]. Place (T).
- Pulepuleinu.** Pulepule shellfish drinking [pulepule, a shellfish; inu, to drink]. Tract near Fataulus, village on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Pulepulekai.** Pulepule shellfish eating [pulepule, a shellfish; kai, to eat]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Ngaunoho, village on Utungake island (V). Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.
- Pulesi.** A cowry tossed or thrown along [pule, cowry; si, to toss or throw along]. Tract on Fetoa island (H).
- Puletahi.** Sea cowry [pule, cowry; tahi, sea]. Tract on Nomuka island (H).
- Pulimokau.** Hidden and conquered [puli, hidden; mokau, conquered]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fusitus, landlord.
- Pulinitu.** Tract near Haalaufull, village on Vavau island (V).
- Pulotu.** The land of the departed and home of certain of the gods. Tract near 775  
Kolovai, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord. Also tract near La- 776  
paha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract on  
Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract near Koloa, village on  
Koloa island (V).
- Pulotuakaaka.** Rooty Pulotu [akaaka, rooty, full of roots]. A place in Pulotu, 103  
the land of the departed, evidently in the "interior," as Pulotutuumau is at 775  
the entrance.
- Pulotutuumau.** Steadfast Pulotu [tuumau, steadfast]. A place in Pulotu, the  
land of the departed, at which vessels from the world of mortals first arrive.
- Pulu.** Husk of the coconut. Tract near Alaki, village on Tongatabu island (T) 103  
—Tui Pelehake, landlord.
- Pulupulu.** The gummy substance from the banana. Tract near Nukualofa, vil-  
lage on Tongatabu island (T).
- Pumalii.** Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.
- Pumeltahi.** Tract near Haatoa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Puna.** A leap, a bound. Streamlet near Pea, village on Tongatabu island (T).  
Also tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.  
Also tract near Talasiu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Lakepa, land-  
lord. Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Named after the  
streamlet Puna, near Pea, Tongatabu, the original home of Tevita Uasi, the  
holder of this tract. The older name of the tract is Moka. Also tract near  
Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

- 103 Tepukulu. One of two rocks near Eua (?) island (T), which mythology says were originally twin goddesses. The other rock is called Nafanua. Also tract on Nomuka island (H).
- [773] [776] Teale. [Teal, to peck, no nibble]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- [775] Total. A mythical island in Palotu, the realm of the departed.
- Toto. The name of a tree. Tract near Longoteme, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veikune, landlord. Also district on Nomuka island (H). Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Haalaufu, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufu, landlord.
- Totoangaloto. Central bleeding place [toto, to bleed; anga, place; loto, center]. Tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord.
- Totoe. To groan, to mourn. Tract on Euefiki island (T).
- Totoea. Toto tree appearing plainly [toto, a tree; ea, to appear plainly]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Pukotals, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.
- Totoka. To sink as sediment. Tract on Atata island (T)—Ata, landlord.
- Totokafonua. Land sediment [totoka, sediment; fonua, land]. Tract on Ovaka island (V).
- Totokavalu. Scraped sediment [totoka, sediment; valu, to scrape]. Tract near Feletoa, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- Totototo. Bloody. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Tou. Name of a tree and its berries which are used as a paste. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- Toufale. Houses built close together. Tract near Haasini, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Nelafo, village on Vavau island (V).
- Touheki. A tree. Tract near Napua, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Touhuni. Name of a tree. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also place on Tongatabu island (T). On weather shore. Also tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulival, landlord.
- [776] [773] Teulaafutuna. The rock from which the primeval gods were born.
- [773] Toukallava. To hit the fruit trees when loaded with fruit [toukal, the time for fruit trees bearing; lave, to hit]. Tract near Kanokupolu, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Toula. To fall in the ula dance [to, to fall; ula, a dance]. Village on Vavau island (V).
- Toulavaka. Time for making boat sail [tou, time for; la, sail; vaka, boat]. Tract near Ngauohoh, village on Utungake island (V)—Motuapuaka, landlord.
- Toulelehi. Time to be overwhelmed [tou, time; lelehi, to be overwhelmed]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Toulu. Full of leaves. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord. Also tract near Niutona, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Toumata. A shade for the eyes. Tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).
- Toumau. Extreme firmness. Tract near Houma, village on Eua island (T).
- Toumotua. Old tou tree [tou, a tree; motua, old]. Tract on Moungaone island (H).
- Teumua. Beside the road. Tract near Kanokupolu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Pangai village on Lifuka island (H).
- Teumusua. Having two sides. Tract near Fafefa, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veehala, landlord.

103 Valola. The living water [val, water; ola, alive]. Stream on Eua island (T). In a Tongan tale is mentioned a pool of the same name in Samoa, the sacred pool of the goddess Hina. Another Valola is the lake situated in Pulotu, the land of the departed, over which the god Hikuleo holds sway. Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).

[776] Valomanu. Water of the animal [val, water; o, of; manu, animal]. Tract near  
[775] Tuanekevale, village on Vavau island (V).

Valomisi. Water of dreams [val, water; o, of; misi, dream]. Tract near Otea, village on Kapa island (V).

Valomoho. Water of the rail [val, water; o, of; moho, the rail (*Ortygometra tabuensis*)]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

Valopa. Stream of slopping [val, stream; o, of; pa, to slop]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

Valpaha. Water that breaks out [val, water; paha, to break out]. Tract near Uha, village on Uha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Valpakola. Water of low commoners [val, water; pakola, a Fijian term signifying "low commoner"; also used as an exclamation with the meaning, "Die, you wretches"]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.

Valpapa. Smooth water [val, water; papa, even, smooth]. Tract near Uha, village on Uha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Valpoa. Water with the smell of fish [val, water; poa, the smell of fish]. Two tracts near Nukualofa and Fofaha, villages on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H)—Tui Pelehake, landlord. Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord. Also tract near Haakio, village on Vavau island (V).

[773] Also the name of a mythical bit of sea water formerly at Haakio. It was carried away in the mouth of a god and finally deposited at Tufumahina, Tongatabu island. Also village on Niuatoputapu island (NT). Also tract near Tongamamao, village on Niuafu island (NF).

Valposuta. Inland Valpoa [uta, inland]. Tract near Haakio, village on Vavau island (V).

Valpua. Seaweed water [val, water; pua, a seaweed]. Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Valpulu. Water covered with coconut husks [val, water; pulu, the husk of the coconut]. Tract near Valpoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord. Also tract on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Tangipa, landlord. Also tract on Niuafu island (NF).

Valpuua. The two spouting streams [val, stream; pu, to spout; ua, two]. A long arm of the sea extending far north into Vavau island (V) and dividing the island into an eastern and a western part.

Vaisi. Little water [val, water; ai, little]. Tract on Niuafu island (NF).

Vaisio. Water of the sio shellfish [val, water; sio, a shellfish]. Tract near Teao, village on Vavau island (V).

Vaisioata. Mirroring water [val, water; sioata, anything which reflects the image]. Well on Uoleva island (H). Beside the pigeon mound called Siakulufotu (or Siakulufotu).

Vaisisi. Water of the si-leaf dress [val, water; sisi, a dress for working in, made from the leaves of the si plant]. Tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.

Valtafe. Brook. Stream on weather shore of Tongatabu island (T).

599 well was covered, and sit at the water's edge, watching the man at his  
 823 work. One day the man noticed the spirit, and approached the well, but  
 773 as he drew near the spirit disappeared into the water, and covered it with  
 the rock. The man returned to his work, but presently he saw the spirit  
 again sitting at the water's edge. He approached, but once more the  
 spirit eluded him. This happened three times, and so the man knew that  
 the stranger was a spirit. Then he took off his turban and girdle of  
 leaves, and put them on a tree to make it look like a man, while he crept  
 round to the place toward which the spirit had turned his back as he sat  
 by the water. Presently the spirit came to view again, and the man  
 sprang upon him, and held him fast until he begged for mercy, and  
 promised to give the man his well. Since then the well has been un-  
 covered, and the stone with which it was covered is still left lying beside it.

## THE CAVE TAPINGAAMAMA

539 Tapingaamama (Human affairs, manners) is the name of a cave, in  
 823 Tefisi in Vavau, through the walls of which there is considerable soakage.  
 773 Two spirits, or demons (*tevolo*) live there, one being a *toke* (eel). A  
 825 stranger once left his *vala* (kilt) in the cave while he went to bathe, and  
 1023 when he came back he found the *vala* folded up with a rat inside it. The  
 266 rat also was a *tevolo*, presumably the second spirit of the cave. Many  
 people are said to have been lost through the cannibals who lived there.

## RELATIONS WITH PULOTU

## ROAD TO PULOTU

775 Gifford (22, p. 153), has published a number of stories relating to  
 journeys to Pulotu, abode of Hikuleo and of the souls of chiefs, an island  
 somewhere out to the northwest, in which are Pukolea (Speaking-  
 puko-tree) able to confer limitless favors, and the Vaiola (Water of life),  
 into which it would seem that the souls of the dead were plunged, rising  
 thence with eternal freshness and vigor. But, besides the far-off mystical  
 island, there is another Pulotu, the Underworld, which is reached by jump-  
 1823 ing into a crevice, or into the sea. Several localities are mentioned as  
 Hala ki Pulotu (Road to Pulotu) which, like the jumping-off places of  
 souls throughout so large a part of Polynesia, have a general westerly or  
 539 northerly outlook.<sup>1</sup> In the first and sixth of the stories that follow, the  
 773 hero plucks up a reed (*kaho*) with which the entrance of the road to  
 775 Pulotu is closed. This detail of the reed is found in the story of the  
 824 visits of Maui Atalanga and his son, Maui Kisikisi, to the Underworld,  
 Lolofonua, during the time that they were living in Koloa, one of the

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islands of the Vavau group (14). The Underworld from which the Maui came, and to which they returned, is not, however, spoken of as Pulotu, but simply as Lolofonua. In the Tongan Creation Myth, indeed, Pulotu, the realm of Hikuleo, is distinct from Lolofonua, the abode of the Maui. (15, p. 276).

In Tongatabu, the road or a road—to Pulotu is said to have started from a spot called Haalako, on the weather shore near the village of Foui. This part of the coast faces to the west, and is in the western part of the island. One account would seem to make a pool (*pupu*) the actual entrance to the road, while another account says that the dead go to the water's edge, and jump into the sea. Down below there is said to be a great cave. Before going down to the water's edge the dead tear off a branch from the shrub called *uhi* (according to Pratt, *Evodia hortensis*) and presumably take the branch with them. This would seem to be the meaning of the expression *haaki ae uhi*, though possibly it might mean to pull the shrub up, or throw it down. In Haapai, however, the plant so used is not the *uhi*, but the *toa* which is so sturdy a tree that tearing off a branch is the only likely meaning. A road at Niuau nofo, the north-western point of Tongatabu is named from a clump of coconut trees, according to native tradition where the traveller to Pulotu plucks up a reed, *kaho*. The *uhi*, which is *namu tevolo* (smelling of spirits), is one of the most potent of medicinal plants for curing demonic possession, and for preventing the wandering of ghosts from the graves of the dead (10, pp. 137-139). Thus it may be conjectured that the newly dead take branches of this shrub as a protection against the spirit dangers that await them. An old man told me that he remembered hearing in his childhood the expression "*Kuo haaki ae uhi e sii eiki*" (The poor chief has broken off the *uhi*) used in connection with a chief who had just died. He added the detail that at the time he heard a noise like that made by a whale beating the sea.

In Eua, which lies a little south of the extreme easterly point of Tongatabu, the road to Pulotu is said to commence in the sea between Eua and the tiny islet Kalau, just off the southern end of Eua. In Haapai the road to Pulotu seems to start in the crater of the volcanic island of Tofua, which, with the splendid cone of Kao standing close beside it, forms the western extremity of that group. "*Kuo haaki ae toa*" is said of the soul which makes its way to Pulotu by jumping into the crater of Tofua. *Toa* trees are planted about many cemeteries, though not by any means confined to such positions. They are "chiefly" trees, well suited to adorn any road or compound to which it is desired to give an aspect of nobility.



## ULUVALU

599 There was once an eight-headed demon (*nifoloo*), named Uluvalu, who  
 773 stole a girl and took her down to Pulotu. But a youth who loved her  
 775 plucked up the reed that closed the road to Pulotu, and went down and  
 [824] found his sweetheart. They arranged that the girl should caress the  
 demon's heads, and so soothe him off to sleep, and that when he was  
 asleep she should steal off with her lover. This was done, and the pair  
 returned safely to the world of men.

776 The *nifoloo* (long-tooth) are a class of supernatural beings, appearing  
 usually in human shape, generally maleficent, indeed cannibalistic. The  
 776 adjective *faka-nifoloo*, is used of that which is bizarre, outrageous. It is  
 192 impossible to make a hard and fast distinction between *nifoloo*, *faahikehe*,  
*tevolo*, and *otua*, though *otua* has appreciated in dignity through its  
 application to the Christian Deity. Tregear (34, *niho*) mentions Ruahine-  
 nihoniho-roroa, the Tahitian goddess of strife, cruelty, and murder.

## A TRIP TO PULOTU

599 Gifford has published the well-known story (22, pp. 169-70), of which  
 773 the following is a brief version, added because of the new detail of the  
 role played by Fakafoimaka.

775 Haelefeke, Fakafoimaka (or Fakafoumaka), and Faifaimalie journeyed  
 [114] to Pulotu to Hikuleo, who, on their arrival, bade the denizens of Pulotu pre-  
 pare food for the visitors. When the food was set before them, Hikuleo told  
 his guests that they must eat it all, otherwise their lives would be forfeited.  
 Haelefeke and Fakafoimaka wept, conceiving it to be impossible  
 to consume so much food, but Faifaimalie said to leave it to her, and  
 setting to work she ate not only the food, but the rod on which it had been  
 carried, the basket, and the leaves with which it was covered. Nothing  
 was left, and Hikuleo was told that it was finished.

"Uoke, Uoke," (strange) he said.

Then he bade them gather the fruit from a *vi* tree (*Spondias dulcis*),  
 so laden with fruit that not a single leaf could be seen. He said that all  
 must be collected; if one were left they should die. Then Fakafoimaka  
 and Faifaimalie wept, but Haelefeke said to leave it to him. So he lay  
 spread out beneath the branches, and, when the gods shook the tree, he  
 caught all the fruit in his tentacles, not one escaped him. When Hikuleo  
 and the spirits (*kau nifoloo*) saw this they bade the three return to the  
 world, but they made the road rough with sharp spikes, like the thorns of  
 the shaddock. Now Haelefeke and Faifaimalie wept, but Fakafoimaka  
 said to leave this difficulty to him. Then he rolled about on the sharp  
 spikes, and smoothed the road, so that they ascended safely to this world.



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## A TRIP TO PULOTU

(A Variant)

There was once a man named Lasa in Vavau, who went out into the bush to cut down a tree to make a canoe. After a whole day of toil a tree was felled, and Lasa went home to sleep. During the night the god Haelefeke came to the felled tree and said to it, "Lasa, Lasa, tree stand upright," and the tree stood again in its place. In the morning Lasa came, and spent another whole day in felling the tree. That night while he slept at home Haelefeke came again and restored the tree to its place. This happened three times, and then Lasa, after hewing down the tree once more, instead of returning home, hid and lay in wait. When Haelefeke came, Lasa sprang out and seized him, and held him until he had promised to assist him in the building of the canoe. So they built the canoe together, and when Lasa was preparing to sail away in her, Haelefeke bade him not to refuse to go to anyone who should beckon to him. So Lasa got on board and sailed away, but at Muikuku he saw someone beckoning to him. So he went in, and took on board this personage, who was Tupuafaakai (Spirit apt to eat). Further on, at Tuanuku, he saw someone else beckoning, and went in and took on board Tupuakaihaa (Thieving spirit), and at Otea he found Haelefeke himself, and took him on board.

Then they sailed away to Fiji, and landed on an island where a *nifoloo* lived. They smoothed out their footprints on the sand, hid the canoe, and went to the demon's house. Lasa climbed up to the ridgeline of the house, Tupuafaakai, Tupuakaihaa and Haelefeke each stood close to a post. Presently the demon came in, with weeping people whom he had stolen, and began at once to sniff suspiciously, saying, "Namu mama, namu tafatafa" (Smell of humans, smell of blood). Then, catching sight of Lasa, he hauled him down from his perch. Then he saw the three gods, and tried to pull them out into the open, but so closely did Haelefeke cling to his post that he could not pull him away; indeed, he seemed like to pull the house down with his hauling. So the demon asked Haelefeke to desist, promising that he would let them go alive. So Haelefeke relinquished his hold of the post.

Then the demon brought in food, saying that if they did not eat it all they should die. Haelefeke and Tupuakaihaa both ate their fill, but the food was not nearly finished. Tupuafaakai, however, saved them by devouring the huge meal. Then the demon told them that he was going to shake his *vi tree*, and that they would die if any of the fruit fell to the ground. Haelefeke saved them by spreading himself out under the tree,

539 and catching all the fruit as it fell. After this the demon sent one of his  
 778 own men with Tupuakaihaa to gather the land crab, called *lairo* by the  
 775 Fijians, but *tupa* by the Tongans, saying that they should die if the  
 Tongan were beaten by the Fijian. So the two went off, and the Fijian  
 had filled his basket before the Tongan had caught a single crab. As  
 they were returning Tupuakaihaa asked the Fijian to climb a coconut tree  
 to get nuts to drink. When he was up in the tree, Tupuakaihaa com-  
 menced to sing to him, "Tongan wakeful eye, Fijian sleepy eye; Tongan  
 wakeful eye, Fijian sleepy eye," and kept on till the Fijian fell asleep in  
 the tree. Then Tupuakaihaa filled his own empty basket with coconut  
 husks, and exchanged it for the Fijian's basket of crabs. Having done  
 this he waked the Fijian, who came down from the tree and seized the  
 basket of husks. So they returned to the demon, and this labor also was  
 accomplished, and they were saved.

#### TUIPULOTU'S HOUSE IN PULOTU

The handsome (*manaia*) Tuipulotu<sup>1</sup> had a house in Pulotu built en-  
 tirely of women. The house was complete but for the ridgepole, and  
 Tuipulotu was still waiting for a woman whom he would marry, and  
 place as ridgepole.

Now there was a married couple who had ten daughters, all named  
 Hina, of whom the youngest was very beautiful. So Tuipulotu came to  
 this world and invited them to go and drink kava in Pulotu. They  
 accepted the invitation, and went.

When the girls reached Pulotu they went to Tuipulotu's mother's  
 brother (*tuasina*), who was named Vaipepe. He instructed them as to  
 what they should say when they came to Tuipulotu's house, and were  
 called. Now Tuipulotu had gone and seated himself within his house, and  
 presently the eldest sister was called. So approaching the house she sat  
 down outside, and said,

Hu kita 'ia Vaipepe  
 Hoto ta'e fie hu ki fale.

I am going to Vaipepe  
 Being unwilling to enter the house.

But she was told to go away, and then the second sister came. She,  
 too, was sent away. And so it was with all the girls, until the tenth  
 approached. She was called into the house, but answered as her sisters  
 had done. Each had been called into the house, and had replied with the  
 couplet, and been sent away. The tenth, however, was not sent away, but  
 was again called into the house. Again she was called, and again she  
 refused in the words of the couplet. And so it went on, the girl being  
 called and refusing, till at last she went into the house. Now Tuipulotu's

teeth were of ivory, and gleamed white upon the girl, and were very beautiful. Then he spread two mats (*kie*), and lay with the girl. Then Tuipulotu bade her take the mats, and return with her sisters to the world. This is the reason of the custom in Tongan marriage of the mat of virginity *kie tangavai*.<sup>2</sup> So they were saved alive. [585]

#### THE DEMON AND HIS HOUSE OF BEAUTIFUL MEN AND WOMEN

In this story no names are given, and the locale is not said to be Pulotu. Probably it is to be considered a brief variant of the foregoing, though there are differences of detail, and the ending may have been modified by European fairy tales. [17]

There was once a *nifoloo*, whose house was built of beautiful men and women. The house was completed but for the ridgepole. Where the ridgepole should be was a space, left vacant to be filled by a person of flawless beauty. At last the demon discovered a girl whose beauty was in every way perfect, and she was led away to fill the empty space. As she went she wept, and when she was brought into the house the faces of those already built in grinned with envy of her loveliness.

But the demon was moved and softened by her loveliness and distress, and placed a substitute for her as ridgepole. Then he took her to the seashore, and bade her slay him; but this she could not bring herself to do; so he told her to go away, and he himself leaped into the sea. Thence he returned to her a handsome young man, and married her, and dismissed to their homes the men and women who had formed his house.

#### LOLONGOVAVAU, DAUGHTER OF HINA AND SINILAU

Hina, the wife of Sinilau,<sup>1</sup> a handsome man of the midpart of Tonga, bore him a daughter. After a time Hikuleo came from Pulotu, and, entering Hina's house, bade them bring the child out into the center of the house. The parents obeyed weeping, supposing that their child was to be killed. Hikuleo ordered, however, that she be named Lolongovavau, and that she be taken to Pulotu, to be queen (*tui*) there. Hina's brother Ofamaikiatama (Love to the child), said that he would go to Pulotu to look after her.<sup>2</sup> So Lolongovavau was taken to Pulotu, and placed in the palace (*fale hau*), and the two trees Pukolea (Speaking tree) and Akau-talanoa<sup>3</sup> (Talking tree) came at once, and stood, each at a doorpost, to guard the girl. There were also the guards who stood to watch. [604] [824]

Now the maiden was very beautiful, and when she grew up, her uncle, seeing that the time had come for her to marry, went up to the world to seek a handsome man to be her husband. He commenced his search in

539 Eua, but found no one there; then he went through eastern Tongatabu,  
 773 but without success. So he came through middle Tongatabu, where were  
 775 ten handsome men, but he chose none of them. Then he reached western  
 Tongatabu, and went on to the village of Haatafu, which stands at the  
 end of the island. There he stood at the entrance to the village, and thus  
 expressed his hopes, "This is a beautifully situated town; if its position is  
 so fair, how much more the people who dwell in it."

So he entered the town, and, hearing shouting, went and stood before  
 the house whence the noise came. Looking in he saw the chief Loloma-  
 tokelau seated at a game of *lafo*. Straightway he entered the house, and  
 greeted Lolomatokelau, who returned his greeting,<sup>6</sup> and asked why he had  
 come. And Ofamaikiatama replied that he had been through the whole of  
 Tonga seeking a plant for medicine for his child, and so at last had come  
 to this part. Then Lolomatokelau congratulated him on his coming and  
 getting medicine, and he and his men provided kava, and they drank kava  
 together. When this was finished Ofamaikiatama thanked them for the  
 kava, and said that he would go with the medicine for his child.

[829] So he departed, and pulling up the reed at Niuaunofu he entered  
 Pulotu,<sup>8</sup> and going straight to Lolongovavau told her to come with him,  
 for he would get a husband for her in the world. "How can we escape  
 from this place?" asked the maiden. But the man stole the life-affecting  
 fan (*I Taumoui*) of Hikuleo, to fan to sleep Pukolea and Akautalanoa and  
 Pulotu. So they went up to the world, and Ofamaikiatama left the girl  
 in Lolomatokelau's compound with the fence of eight crosspieces, and re-  
 turned himself to Pulotu.

Now Lolomatokelau had a pigeon named Mahuamata (Full of eyes)  
 kept in the compound, and the pigeon cooed to tell her master about the  
 maiden. Straightway Lolomatokelau waked, and called his younger  
 brother, Lulutalihala, to go and see why the pigeon was cooing. The  
 brother went, and brought word that there was a lovely maiden there, who  
 was stringing a necklace of hala. So Lolomatokelau went, and kindly  
 greeted her, and bade her come with him. Then lifting her up he carried  
 her, and called his men and his sisters to come and hold joyful festival,  
 for Lolongovavau was in the compound. So they ate together, and the  
 two were married.

[607] In course of time Lolongovavau became with child, and bore a son,  
 who was taken and cared for by her husband's sisters.<sup>7</sup> Now when the  
 handsome men (*kau manaia*) of mid-Tonga heard that Lolomatokelau and  
 Lolongovavau were married they sent word to him to come and join them  
 in the sport of dart throwing (*tolo*). He told his wife that he would go  
 to the game, and that if he did not return she would know that he was

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killed, but if he were alive he would come back to her. Preparations were at once made; his necklace, of the sort called *tuंगा-papai*, was put on, he was anointed with sandalwood oil, and he went to the sport. Here he was slain by the handsome men.

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Meanwhile his bride wept, and at last fell upon her couch of mats and slept. And as she slept the spirit (*laumalie*) of her husband came, and cried from without the house:

Ta'ahine Lolongo-vava'u  
Ko eku ha'u ni ko eku felkau,  
Folofola 'a Loloma-tokelau  
Ke age 'e helu pea moe fangu,  
Pea ke 'alu ange he 'oku ngangau  
Tofa he mala'e 'oe hau.

Dear lady\* Lolongovavau  
On an errand am I come now,  
'Tis the word of Lolomatokelau  
To take a comb and gourd of oil,  
Do thou go, for he is bedewed,  
Lying on the green of the king.

But the lady did not awake, and again the spirit cried,

Fangu ngatu 'i Utukaunanga'  
  
Ke mou sipia ha pangaikafa,  
Pea 'ange ia ko si'ono vala;  
Tu'u ke ta o na'a mafoa e ata.

Gourd [of oil] cast down in  
Utukaunanga,  
Cut off a piece of bark cloth  
And give to him for his clothing;  
Arise, let us go, lest the dawn break.

Then the lady awaked, and went out, and saw her husband going on before her, and she cried to him:

Tama e ho'o ve'e kamikami,  
Koeha e toto 'oku lelepani?  
He maua 'ae fa he hala ni,  
He 'alaha ete fangu koe ahi,  
'Ilo ia ko eku tui 'i api.

Why dear are your feet so swift?  
Why the blood that is spread in my sight?  
The hala is sweet on the road,  
And fragrant my sandalwood oil;  
Smell [the garlands] I have twined in  
our home.

And he replied:

Lakalaka mai, to'oto'o mai,  
Koe 'uha na'e to 'anenai,  
Moe fa hausia he hala ni.

Come, hasten, make speed,  
With the rain that fell erstwhile  
The hala is wet in this road.

So they journeyed on, and presently the man spoke again:

'Oka hokosia e maka nofo'a  
Peau tali atu ke ta fononga,  
Hoto malo-kula ke mou to'oa,  
Ete fangu takai hoto foha,  
Ke hingoa ko He-'i-ma'imoa.

When we have reached the rock seat  
I shall wait that we journey together.  
My loin-cloth of red shall you take,  
My gourd of oil for my son,  
And his name shall be Gone-astray-in-a-  
game.

And the lady replied:

Koe lau nai ia te'e tama",  
Koe lahi ia pea kafakafa,  
Pea 'oku nofo he mehekitanga,  
He lahi fefine he lahi tangata,  
Ka te 'alu kita 'i hoto mamana.

Speakest thou indeed of my child?  
Full sturdy is he and well grown,  
And with thy sisters he dwelleth,  
Of women and men there are plenty,  
As for me I shall go with my love.

Then for the last time the husband spoke:

529 Ta'ahine Lolongo-vava'u  
773 Ka 'oku ke 'ofa 'iate au,  
775 Koena 'a Lulu-tali-hala,  
Pea moe api ko 'Oni-malama,  
Mo si'ete lupe ko Mahu'a-mata,  
Ke vakai na'a heu ai taha.

Dear lady Lolongovavau,  
By the love that thou hast for me,  
Behold, there is Lulutalihala,  
And our home Onemalama,  
And my dear pigeon Mahumata,  
Do thou guard lest any should capture.

So the man went to Pulotu, but the lady went on to his body; and when she reached the place she found the wives of the handsome men who had slain him weeping. So many were there that she could not come near the body, but wept at a distance. But the dead chief's pigeon was sitting up aloft, and bade make way for her, that she might come to her dear husband and mourn alone. So they went, and the lady wept.

Now while she was weeping Ofamaikiatama went, in Pulotu, to fetch water, and he met the soul of Lolomatokelau going along, and plucking a taro leaf, he wrapped the soul in it, and thrust it into his side [presumably into his girdle]. He left his task of fetching water for Hikuleo, and came with the Fan up to the world, where he found Lolongovavau still weeping by the body of her husband. He placed the soul in [on] the body, and fanned with I Taumoui, and the man became alive again, and stood up and sat down. Then Lolomatokelau spoke to Lolongovavau: "Cease your weeping; for I am alive."

And the lady looked, and saw her husband sitting up before her, and she said, "Long it was that you hearkened not to my voice."

"True," he replied, "I was engaged in making kava in Pulotu." Then Ofamaikiatama bade them return to their home, while he went back to Pulotu, and they returned to Onemalama, in Haatafu.<sup>11</sup>

#### HINA AND SINILAU

##### INTRODUCTION

529 Interesting parallels to the Tongan stories of Hina and Sinilau are  
779 presented by Tregear (34). For New Zealand, Tregear says: "Tinirau  
171 at the time of his marriage with Hina had two other wives, their names  
were Harataunga and Horotata, the daughters of Mangamangaiaua; they  
were killed by Hina with incantations, they having been spiteful and  
malicious to her . . . Tinirau's wife and her child left him, departing  
with his brother-in-law, Rupe. Tinirau had nine sisters." Rupe, brother  
of Hina, having long sought her, discovered that she was in Motutapu,  
"assuming the shape of a pigeon, he flew thither, revealed himself to  
Hina, and carried off both his sister and her new-born baby." Tregear



## POEMS RELATING TO DEATH

764 Fortunately, accounts of the burial ceremonies of great chiefs before  
 114 ancient practice had been modified by Christianity have been preserved.  
 Those of the London Missionary Society's missionaries (40), who landed  
 in Tonga in 1797, arrived shortly before the death of the Tui Kanokupolu  
 Mumui (Apr. 29, 1797). Mariner has described the burial of his friend  
 and protector, Finau. Finau's daughter died shortly before her father, and  
 the rites in connection with her burial are also described (28, vol. 1, pp.  
 296-299, 310-329). Good examples of the wailing (*tangi*) raised im-  
 mediately after a death is also given by Mariner (28, vol 1, p. 134; vol. 2,  
 chapters I, V).

764 Burial usually follows soon after death; but special affection or honor  
 was sometimes shown to the dead by keeping the body unburied for a  
 long time. Sometimes, it would seem, the body thus kept was put into a  
 sort of coffin. I have heard such a funerary casket described as *vaka* (boat  
 or canoe), a striking term. In all probability the coffin was actually a boat.  
 Embalming was seldom, if ever, resorted to; and when the putrefying body  
 became offensive it was referred to as *namu kakala* (fragrant smelling).

349 The most remarkable monuments in Tonga are the Trilithon, Haamonga-  
 764 a-Maui, in Heketa, eastern Tongatabu, and the stone-faced burial vaults  
 of great chiefs, especially of the Tui Tonga, most of which are also in  
 eastern Tongatabu. These are terraced, rectangular mounds, of one to five  
 tiers. On the island of Niuafoou is a burial mound of rather different  
 shape, being roughly oval, though it is so overgrown with scrub that it is  
 difficult to get a precise idea of its shape. It is about 40 yards long, and  
 3 or 4 feet high, faced with rough blocks of stone. Its shape would be  
 more perfectly oval were it not that the roughness of the masonry makes  
 769 angles. This is the burial ground of high chieftains, but is not treated with  
 the respect that would be anticipated. People sometimes cut firewood from  
 it today. They say that the chiefs buried there are not *pauu*, mischievous,  
 to them. This modern rationalism, however, is not approved by all the  
 elders. More strictness is observed in cleaning this cemetery, the work be-  
 ing never undertaken except at the bidding of one of two chiefs, neither of  
 whom lives in the island. Doubtless they are both *fahu* to the chiefs  
 buried there. (Relatives of superior social rank are *fahu*, especially one's  
 [602] sister and father's sister, and their children.) The following poems contain  
 [599] references to the ghost ship from Pulotu, and to other ways of reaching  
 [604] Pulotu. Pulotu as the far-off island, however, seems to have been most  
 [605] prominently in the people's belief, as there is a very substantial agreement  
 775 among observers who had the opportunity of learning the conceptions of the  
 [598] Tongans before they were influenced by Christianity. Vason (37, p. 150)  
 relates that Tongans, conversing about one who had lately died, said "he

goes to the island beyond the sky." This is confirmed by other writers (28, 38, 40), although other ideas of the road to Puluṭu are no less unmistakably found. Sir James Frazer has summed up the published accounts of burial and mourning ceremonial (20, vol. 2, pp. 84-147.) It is said that common people were regarded as having no souls; but there seems to be a difficulty, at any rate among present-day Tongans, in deciding just at what point of social elevation a man might hope to be eligible for the joys of Puluṭu, and possibly many a man whom his superiors regarded as hopelessly disqualified nourished a secret hope that he might, after all, inherit the pleasures and consequence that were denied him amongst mortals. [565] [774]

When a person has died, and is still lying in the house where he died, only those who are *fahu* to him can go into the part of the house which is about the dead man's head, or can do anything to the upper part of the body. Practical difficulties in preparing the body, should any arise, may be overcome by a *fahu* summoning whom he will to help. The bidding of the *fahu* nullifies the tapu. Foreigners are exempt from tapu binding on natives. In especial the persons who attend the bodies of the dead are the *haa tufunga*, certain *matapule* whose hereditary duty and privilege this is. Tradition makes it clear that this right has been given from one family to another. For a high chief, all who come near the body will be *haa tufunga*. There are considerable emoluments attached to this rank, or duty, as the *haa tufunga* take all the mats which have touched the body and are not buried with it. In practical application there seems to be considerable modification of rules, and eligibility to perform certain functions is not always clearly defined, especially in the case of people of humble social rank. [764] [767] [602] [764] [602] [784] [604] [767]

For some time after the *haa tufunga* have performed their duties about the body of a high chief people are rather shy of them. If they drank from a cup in a house they would take it away with them. A chiefly girl has told me that she noticed at the obsequies of a late head of her own house that the *haa tufunga* all took their own cups with them to avoid embarrassment. I have never seen the *nimatapu* (the hands of a person who has lately touched the dead rendered tapu so that he cannot feed himself) and I am doubtful if many, even of living Tongans, can have seen it; but I have heard of one European who has seen it in comparatively recent years. [784]

The children and brothers of a dead man may not approach the body, but his grandchildren may. He is of superior social rank to his children, but not to his grandchildren. [763] [593] [603]

Ordinarily the women are busy about the dead. Women wail, more or less constantly, from the time the death occurs till the body is removed from the house. Men do not stay in the house where the body is lying. At some time after the burial a woman who is *fahu* to the deceased sprinkles water in the house where he died, and all tapu is thus removed from it. [763] [562] [764]

Empty graves are disliked; they are a threat to the living. When a new vault is made—the rock-lined vaults of great chiefs take some time to construct, the grave of an ordinary man can be quickly dug—a stone or a wooden pillow will be put into it, lest the ghosts seek an inhabitant for it by taking off someone from among the living. It is related that when one of the Tui Tonga was being buried a *haa tufunga* man was imprisoned in the vault with him. The vault could not be opened to release him, for to do so would have meant that it was being opened to receive the newly appointed successor of the dead king. So the unlucky man was left in the vault to die. This man should have had certain duties in connection with the presentation of the *pongipongi* each morning, but his place was vacant. So a messenger went each morning for seven or eight days to the grave and reported the gifts that were brought, and the imprisoned *mata-pule* cried out the appropriate thanks. Then there came a day when no response was heard from the vault, and the living concluded that the man was dead, and a successor was appointed.

Where there is only a grave to be dug the digging is the last task undertaken in the preparation for the burial. Should a funeral have to be postponed to the day following that on which it was expected, although the grave has been dug, the grave is not left open over night, but is filled in, and re-opened the following day. There is a dislike to starting a new burial ground, lest the ghosts of the few buried there be lonely, and seek to increase their company.

Hócart (25) says that in Samoa he asked the question, "What is an *aitu*?" and got the answer, "The man who is dead." A Tongan girl whom I asked, "Who are the *tevolo*?" replied, "The people who are dead." These ghosts appear in various forms to the living. It is said that it was once the custom for the friends of a man who had died to come to the house where he had died, after his burial, and spread mats on the floor, and wait till some creature crawled on to the mats. This creature, whatever it might be, was carefully wrapped up, and taken away and kept. It was the dead man's spirit, *lau-malie*. (For fuller details see 20; 28; 37; 40; 10, pp. 136-142.)

SONG OF TUKULUA<sup>1</sup>

Na'e fa'u 'i he ene mahaki'ia

To e totoka peau hahano,

Langa hoto 'ofa ki he huni vao;

Malimali pe siale tuikako,

Kolo atu kuou to ki lalo.

Koe vaka e 'ikai kei ato

Ka koloto e mala ni kuo mao;

When the calm mists fall I am filled  
with yearning,

With welling desire for the forest Anni;

Smiling are the wreaths of *sio's*,

I think of you, I who am fallen down.

The boat has not yet come to land,

But I cannot escape this fate that is  
planned;53A  
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## NOTES

## Page 8. Maui in Eua

1. The *si* is apparently the well-known *Cordyline terminalis*; the leaves used in making girdles, the root for sweetening food. Pratt (30) says that in Samoa the root was used as food in times of scarcity. Doubtless the Tongans also ate it when other food was not plentiful.

## Pages 10-11. Stories of Tongatabu

1. Vaileua, called also Touia. Possibly one name is that of the ground in which the pool was situated, and the other that of the pool itself.

2. No other occurrence of the word *haulefe* is known to me.

3. A party which includes one chief or a number of chiefs is referred to collectively as *houeiki* (chiefs), and chiefly language is used with reference to them.

## Page 11. The well Veemumuni

1. The term *vai* (water), here translated "well" is applied to lake, spring, pool of fresh water, the sea, and river, frequently without distinction, but descriptive words are sometimes added, for example, *vai-tafe*, flowing water (river); *vai-tapu*, springing water (spring).

## Page 12. Road to Pulotu

1. Smith (33, pp. 35, 36) thinks that in this duality of position of the Spirit-world, which is common throughout Polynesia, there is a confusion of two meanings of *raro*, *lalo* (ao), down and west.

## Page 16. Tuipulotu's house in Pulotu

1. Tuipulotu is a frequently occurring proper name, both of men and women. Mariner mentions Tuipulotu as a minor god of the sea and voyages, and protector of Finau's family (28, vol. 2, p. 107).

2. Accounts of Samoan marriage ceremony are given by Kramer (26, vol. 1, p. 38); by Brown (6, p. 21); and by Collocott (11).

## Pages 17-20. Lolongovavau, daughter of Hina and Sinilau

1. It is not necessary to assume that every occurrence of the names Hina and Sinilau concerns Hina, connected with moon and sea, and Sinilau or Tinirau, son of the sun, connected with sea and fishes. I have heard the Tongan opinion expressed that there is a tendency for stories of handsome men and their beautiful wives to attach themselves to the names of Sinilau and Hina. In this tale, however, there are many features of Hina stories.

2. The mother's side of the house is subordinate to the father's, and from that side is most likely to come such a guardian as Ofamaikiatama.

3. There are frequent mentions of speaking *puko* tree or a speaking tree, but this identification of two trees, as indicated by the two expressions, is rare.

4. The expression *Alu hake ki mama* means "went up to light." The word *mama* (light) is a usual one for the world of human beings, and for human beings themselves; Mamani, which apparently means this light, is practically a proper name of this world.

5. Persons greeting one another commonly refer to what the other is doing; that is, Ofamaikiatama says "Malo e maimoa" (Malo the game), and Lolomatokelau replies, "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, malo the journey). The word *malo*, sometimes rather colorless, expresses thanks, approval, appreciation. A very common form of greeting of people meeting on the road is the simple question "Were you in such a place?"

6. See p. 12 for reference to roads to Pulotu. Gifford gives Niuaunofu as the northwestern point of Tongatabu. This is a few miles north from the road to Pulotu on the weather coast near the village of Foui.

539 7. The good will of her husband's sisters is of importance to a woman: for  
773 example, one of the causes assigned for difficult labor is the ill will of the husband's  
775 sisters.

8. The literal translation of *tashine* is girl, maiden. This is a respectful term,  
used of chiefly women, irrespective of marriage or age. In the same way *tama*, *tamasi*  
[607] (lad, boy) is applied to men who are chiefs.

9. This line is difficult. It is perhaps a proper name applied to the sleeping wife.  
845 Utukaunaga is evidently a place name and translated it indicates the place where the  
192 man lies, and where his body, anointed with sweet oil, has been so foully used.

10. The expression *ia te'e tama*, was thus written by the writer, who took the  
126 story down. *Te'e* in this position is unknown to me; possibly it is *te*, the rare article.  
[192] It is provisionally translated "my."

11. Onemalama is the compound or area within which the compound of Lolo-  
matokelau was situated. Haatafu, a wider name, is the village or area embracing  
539 Onemalama and other places. This is a very common feature of present-day nomen-  
773 clature but possibly it was not so common earlier. This story does not appear to be  
775 recent and it is possible "in Haatafu" is added by the modern narrator to assist identi-  
361 fication. It is said that the gathering of Tongans into comparatively large villages is  
a recent innovation, originating perhaps in war, and encouraged by the needs of present-  
day education and religion.

178 Pages 23-25. Sinilau and Hina, daughter of Puko

1. The expression "branching ivory" (*lei-mangamanga*) seems to be quite un-  
539 known to present-day Tongans, but probably indicates the female pudenda. "*Lei man-*  
773 *gamanga*" is probably connected with the *rei* of Atu" (13, no. 3). Best (3) writes  
192 of "the curious stone artifact of Atiu fashioned to resemble and represent the female  
organ."

Pages 25-26. Hina, Sinilau, and the jealous demon wife

[849] 1. The idiom for a pregnant woman's longing for a special food is rather striking.  
She is said to be pregnant, or to have conceived, to the food. In this instance: Hina  
*oku tuituia ki he atu*.

2. *Ko Vaihi e*, literally, "That is Hawaii" (17, No. 358).

3. Fatailangalanga, climbing fetai (*Cassytha filiformis*?). *Fuhifamalania*, cluster  
of gleaming hala.

539 4. Kapala is perhaps the island of Kambara, Fiji; but several places, not islands,  
773 are also called Kapala (21).

[102] Pages 34-37. Hina and Nukuokakala

[197] 1. Doubtless the dialect of Niua Ffoo, as spoken today, has been modified by the  
language of the main part of Tonga.

[193] 2. The steep rocky shores of Niua Ffoo afford little accommodation for boats.  
The natives support themselves in swimming with a long, light pole under the arm.

3. Firing a gun, the modern narrator's version of what was presumably the beating  
the drum.

[192] 4. *Mali*, that is, English "marry" (or French, *mari*), both used as noun, of either  
husband or wife, and as a verb.

Pages 39-41. Kulakehahau and Tongamauluau

539 1. The heroine's name is spelled "Tonga-maulu'au," and "Tonga-mauluau." The  
hero's name is spelled both "Kulakehahau" and "Kulakehahau."

2. The probable translation of *Keuiafanafana* is "Overcome by a whisper."

[192] 3. The respectful word for speech, *folofola*, is used properly enough by the  
[195] maiden to her lover; *taataa*, an equally respectful term for blood seems less proper  
when used by the girl of herself. No one, not even the greatest chief, uses respectful  
terms of himself. Probably the exigencies of rhyme have forced the word upon the  
narrator.

[192] 4. In my copy of text, *hamoria* stands *kanoria*, a word which I do not know. I  
conjecture that *hamoria*, meaning signed to, beckoned, persuaded, is correct.

5. This is either the name of the man's compound, or simply a common noun  
meaning gathering place of companions.

11. By *ma* (we) Tukulua indicates himself and one other, possibly a sweetheart. It is possible that in this regretful farewell to the happy activities of living men and women, he is thinking more particularly, though not exclusively, of the charms of women's company. *Tuula* (perch for birds) would seem more likely to be applied to women than to men; women are frequently called *lupe* (pigeon). For a possible reference underlying *tato anga lei* (place of carving ivory), see *lei mangamanga* (p. 130).
12. By "games" (*tolo*) is meant the sport of dart-throwing, but possibly there is a covert allusion to love.
13. The form of the phrase *tuma 'ae fuifui puleoto* (man, lad) of cluster of *puleoto* recalls the Hebrew "son of oil." The *puleoto* is a shell used for the necklaces of chiefs and is a valued ornament of chiefly virgins. To wear this shell is a mark of virginity, for if a girl who is not a virgin wears one suspended from her neck the shell will not lie properly upon her bosom, but will turn over.
14. The *motelolo* is a tree.
15. There are two musical directions in my manuscript copy. The word *fai* apparently marks a part where those who sing the air come in, or perhaps sing alone, and the word *lautoka* is perhaps a direction to the base or seconds. The refrains that recur throughout the piece were probably sung by the full chorus.

## Page 79. On the death of the Tui Tonga

1. *Langiehetupua* is the name of Tui Tonga's burial vault.
2. The number of pigeons flying about in all the islands (*otia fonua*) was an omen of the King's death.
3. In the original Tongan text *mata 'o peka* is written as three words and would thus mean face (front) of *peka* (flying-fox), but the probability is that it should be taken here as a geographical name. It is possible that the phrase may mean the faces, appearance of the people of Peka (21). Veituna also appears to be a geographical name. Where these places are, or why they are mentioned, is not known.
4. *Malamaisaua* (indistinctly written, and possibly *Malamaisana*, but *Malamaisaua* suits the rhyme and is in all likelihood correct) is probably a place name, perhaps the name of the late Tui Tonga's compound; but it may be one of the names of the King himself.
5. *Otiua* means god, spirit. This direct ascription of deity to the king descended from the Lords of Heaven may perhaps be made easier by the fact that he is dead and has returned (or is about to return?) to the land of immortals, but it seems preferable to regard it as a statement of what the Tui Tonga, the Sacred King, actually was in his status as a king, both king of mortals and a god, probably pre-eminently the god so far as men were concerned.
6. Screen (*tatau*). A screen (*kolo*) is sometimes put around the bodies of chiefs during the burial ceremony in the cemetery and, for the very great chiefs, also in the house in which the body lay before being taken to the cemetery. Inside this screen only the *haa tufunga* (compare Maori *tohunga* and cognates in other dialects), members of the family group to whom belonged funerary arrangements, were allowed to enter.
7. *Alaivahamamao*, probably a *matapu* of the dead king.
8. "Midrib of the coconut leaflet" signifies the dead-king. He is so called because flowers and leaves are strung on the midrib, and the name signifies him who was the center of festival for which garlands and necklaces were prepared; him to whom most of all were brought objects of pleasure and delight.
9. *Manono* and *Fualu* are names of localities in Tonga. It is possible that *Manono* is indicated. The statement has been made in Tonga that there is tradition that the pigeon came from Samoa to Tonga. Perhaps the most likely interpretation is that the pigeon of *Manono* and *Fualu* is the dead King, though it is possible that this is the beginning of an address to the women of *Manono* and *Fualu*, calling on them to mourn. The loss of the next five lines makes it impossible to decide.
10. At the end of the mutilated line is *scals*, translated "eight," but of course there is nothing to show that the syllables are not, for example, the end of a name.
11. The use of the word *afio* (reign) does not mean that the king will be king of Pulotu, for *Hikuleo* is ruler there; but the word *afio* is used of the Tui Tonga and has a wide range of application. It is the word used of the king's being, presence, in any place. The lines mean little more than that he will be in Pulotu, *Pulotutuamau* (Pulotu stand fast). If Watkin (38) is correct in thinking that the Tongans divided



539 Pulotu into three departments, is it not possible that Pulotutunumau, which the poet  
76 regards as the destination of the Tui Tonga, may be a pleasanter place than Pulotuaka-  
643 aka, to which Tukulua refers with evident repugnance. There is always the possibility  
of simply descriptive epithets being applied to the same Pulotu.

12. In *ari-hau*, attendants of the *hau* (king), it is interesting to have a clear  
[715] example of the application of the word *hau* to the Tui Tonga. *Hau* indicates kingship,  
[715] lordship actually manifest in power and rule, rather than chieftainship which is the  
[715] prerogative of birth. In the later days of the Tui Tonga, when his power was  
[715] becoming gradually overshadowed by the growing might of the Tui Kanokupolu, the  
word *hau* was more often used of the more powerful king, and on occasion even of  
other chiefs who happened for the time being to have won preeminence through military  
virtue.

13. As Vavau is the northern group of the Tongan islands, evidently the king's  
539 road to Pulotu takes him in a generally northerly direction. It is possible, however,  
76 that this is an echo of the Vavau that occurs so widely in Polynesian tradition as  
643 one of the stopping places in the migrations. Since the attendants rejoice when Vavau  
has sunk out of sight, it is to be presumed that they rejoice because they have entered  
on the last stage of the voyage to Pulotu. It is difficult to say whether the king is  
715 regarded as having already made the voyage to Pulotu, or as being about to make it.  
[829] The only indication of time is given by *ka* in *ka malu*, which usually marks future, or  
indefinite time. I have not heard a period assigned as elapsing between death and the  
departure of the spirit; but the tapu on a house in which a death has occurred is  
764 removed by sprinkling water in it a few days after the death; bodies of great chiefs  
[764] are kept unburied longer than those of common people; funerary tapu for some high  
[764] chiefs were kept in force for as long as a year; occasionally bodies were kept unburied  
for months, even for years, apparently as a mark of special affection.

14. Following *ko he* in the manuscript is "etc." Apparently there were other  
539 syllables in the refrain.

76 Pages 79-81. Koe Takipo o Nau

643 1. The opening lines refer to scenes pleasant in the life and friendship of Nau.  
2. The *tahafalu* is a tree. The hard and Nau used to sit in its shade.

766 3. This reference is not very clear and many interpretations are grammatically  
764 possible. *Tuoua* and *fiuapalavau* are the names of two kinds of mats, but may be  
539 the nicknames of two children who used to run in and out and ask to be taken to the  
[829] sea to bathe. Or perhaps it is meant that Nau used to go in and out of the canoe  
house. Possibly Nau is the subject and reference is made to two children who used  
to ask to be taken to bathe. Or all the lines may refer to Nau, though why she  
should desire to be carried to bathe is not very clear. Still there are stories of  
chiefly girls who were not permitted to walk, and such stories must have some basis in  
fact. The difficulty of interpretation is not lessened by the fact that instead of *fafa*  
(both o's short), the word may be read with the last o long, as in fact it is marked  
in the manuscript, and the meaning is then not "carry," but "grope, feel." When so  
many interpretations are grammatically possible it is impossible to decide without some  
information about Nau.

4. Koloa, an island and village of ancient fame. The Maui are said by a very  
good informant to have belonged originally to Koloa, but the exact relations of the  
names Vavau and Haafuluhaio apparently are not very clear to modern Tongans.

764 Pages 81-82. Ulamoleka's poem on the death of Veainu

539 1. Makaunga is in Eua. Falepapalangi and Ulamoleka were together in Eua  
when the news of Veainu's death reached them.

2. Two different types of waves.

[36] 3. Ohonua is the head village of Eua. A deep gully (the "vale" in the text)  
[504] runs down beside the village, and opens into the sea, forming a little boat harbor.  
Frequently boats are weather-bound here by the heavy sea running on the bar at the  
harbor mouth.

[55] 4. The reference is to Veainu. Finemua is a name for Falepapalangi.

5. Hunga is two steep, lonely rocky islets about twenty miles north of Tongatabu.  
Ulamoleka expresses distress and dismay at the death of Veainu, which was not  
unexpected when Falepapalangi and Ulamoleka left Tongatabu for Eua.

cord when the hunter attempts to pull it back to him, is probably the figure of courting a girl who is yet too shy and coy to respond to the advances of her lover.

22. "That it be of comfort and use to thee on sea and land."

23. "Thou art skilled in its taking" signifies "Being a bard yourself, and able to carry things of this sort about with you in your mind." How skilled he was in this taking, Falepapalangi presently proved by repeating the whole piece.

24. These lines seem to be a general approval of liberal culture.

25. This apparently is a modest depreciation of his own efforts. Anopepe is in Eua.

26. "Like a steep cliff" is the poet's inability to do justice to the dead man, or to the merits of Falepapalangi. "Two throws strike its face," a very intelligent Tongan explained as indicating a high cliff where a stone dropped from the top struck the cliff face before falling to the bottom; but since two throws are mentioned it would rather suggest throwing a stone from the bottom.

27. The mother of Hikuleo was Havealolofonua, one of the original goddesses, born of seaweed and mud. This hint of her living with Hikuleo in Pulotu (Hikuleo was the god of Pulotu) is very rare, if not unique, in Tongan myth. The Samoan god of Pulotu was Saveasiuleo, preserving in himself both the names Havea and Hikuleo (26; 15, No. 3, p. 276). An old Maui, the grandfather of Maui Kisikisi, is represented as living in the underworld.

28. Atamusi and Atavaha are said to be two gods from Pulotu who brought some forms of wealth to men. The wish is expressed that all the wealth brought by these two, and all the wealth brought in modern times from foreign lands could be given to Falepapalangi to console him in his grief. There is said to have been a man living in Tonga some time ago who was called the Ponepe. I have conjectured that he came from Ponepe. The war flag of France is perhaps a reference to the visit of a French vessel of war in the forties of last century. Nuse is presumably New Zealand, although now the Tongans call that country Niue Sila.

29. Konaofafine (Treasure of women) is a name for Falepapalangi.

[55] Pages. 82-84. Falepapalangi's last poem

1. The name Haapai stands at the head of this piece and at the end, a note that it is the last poem of Falepapalangi.

2. The sneeze is not always a sign of bad luck. It is supposed to be a good sign in a sick man. One informant, however, says that to sneeze in sleep is a sign of death; a sneeze lying on right side is an omen of death on the father's side of the family, if on left, of death on the mother's side, and if the one who sneezes is lying on his back it is a sign of his own death. In ordinary usage a sneeze is greeted with a laugh, as it is said to indicate that someone is in love with the person who sneezes. This recalls the propitious sneezes in Catullus' well-known lines. To sneeze, however, just before entering on some enterprise is said to be a bad sign.

3. Uluakimapa is a nickname (*hinga fakatenetene*) of some chief. These names are always pleasant.

4. By this metaphor of the sea Falepapalangi indicates the coming of his sickness upon him.

5. Some lines possibly have fallen out at this point. There are indicated instances of wrong procedure on the part of a *matapule*, the poet himself, in this instance. He describes his conducting a kava ceremony without having a piece of the root before him. He also describes some wrong disposal of the food (*fono*) served with the kava.

6. This is another sea metaphor; to come up to the wind here means "sailed well up to the wind of success."

7. The text expresses his misplaced confidence and pride; he regarded himself as a man of mark.

8. "To level the hill" is "to lay himself low."

9. Uluakiheilala is a nickname of some chief. The *heilala* is one of the plants used in the garlands and girdles. The chief, in his anxiety for Falepapalangi, gives orders for a boat to be got ready to sail to some place where there is a temple and sanctuary, to supplicate there, and turn away the anger of the god.

10. Heataukakapa is another nickname, probably that of a chief who was a friend of Falepapalangi.

11. The bird of heaven is an omen, presaging the death of Falepapalangi. Kaimotokanga (eat and attend) is a proverbial expression for proceeding warily. The bird

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21. Vaito is given by Gifford as name of a place in Niua Foa, but apparently there is a locality of the same name in Niua Toputapu also. 539

22. Ulamoleka is speaking of his rank and says that in him are united the two strains of the Tui Tonga (land-side) and of the Tui Kanokupolu (sea-side); that the greatness of the distance between these two families is represented in the image of the sea-bird, attempting to fly from one to the other, but falling exhausted before the distance was accomplished; yet these two lines are united in him. The daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu was regularly married to the Tui Tonga. 584 [103] 644

23. Apologies are made to the Tui Tonga, the Day-star, and to the Tui Kanokupolu, whose is the main-sheet, that is the care and guidance of affairs. 643

24. "If in my heart be a thing that is evil" has been taken as referring to the lines preceding, but it may be taken with the line that follows. "If there is anything amiss in him the southwest wind will know," that is, it will be spread abroad. Or taking the line with what follows, the southwest wind is probably to be understood as the wind that blows from Tongatabu (though the direction of Tongatabu from Niua Toputapu is nearer south than southwest). If it be the wind from Tongatabu the reference is to Tongatabu itself (which is probably to be understood if the other interpretation of the line is accepted). Tongatabu knows that he, Ulamoleka, has drunk water of mingled wisdom—he is famous not only as a sailor, but as a bard. He has already hinted, moreover, at success in dart-throwing, *lafo*, fishing, and pigeon-snaring. Moreover, his name is a compound of the names Ula and Leka, the two chief sailors and fishermen of the Tui Kanokupolu.

25. Vaea is the name of the chief of Houma, in Tongatabu, and is also the name of one of the Tui Haatakalaua. Toilolo is apparently the name of another chief. Tongafuesia and Akihehu are evidently the names of two canoes. The picture seems to be that of Ulamoleka commanding canoes, with the strong winds and rushing waters; high-spirited chiefs rejoicing in the freedom and movement of the sea, the gaiety of the scene heightened by the company of women who sit and talk and sing on the top of the deck house. 551 552

26. These lines are obscure and there is some textual confusion. The Tui Haaleo (King of the guardians) and Tui Haa Pio are evidently the heads of chiefly houses, but seem to be now unknown, though the Haa Leo may not be the proper name of a house, but indicate the Tui Haatakalaua or Tui Kanokupolu. The shore of Hihifo is the district of the Tui Kanokupolu; the Fusimomoho is the canoe of Kinikinilau, who belonged to the clan of the Tui Haatakalaua. Ulamoleka says that he looked afar to see if a sailor changed to the canoe of Kinikinilau, apparently indicating that he had made inquiry to ascertain if there had been intermarriage to bring together the lines of the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Haatakalaua, with the implication that in few, if in any, had the two lines been so closely united as in himself. He claims for himself also the blood of the Tui Haa Pio. Although the houses of the Tui Haa Ila and the Tui Haa Faleono are said to be still surviving, present day Tongans do not seem to know them. 613

27. Literal translation is "dark saying of *puko*," evidently a proverbial expression. There was a mystic *puko* tree in Pulu, which could supply all wants, food, drink, clothing. There was also a tree connected with the famous sanctuary Fanakava in eastern Tongatabu, to which the suppliant stated his case. A mortal priest presided at the tree to learn the will of the unseen powers regarding the man who sought shelter in the sanctuary. Although the exact reference of this line is lost it evidently means something like baleful, secret speech. 715 825

28. The reference to this *toa* tree is equally obscure. The meaning of *totua-pu-lilo* is "spoken is hidden." Possibly the idea is that the detractor can stay in the realm of secret and unfriendly speeches, devoting himself to that sort of thing for as long as he likes.

29. Loau gave ordinances and directions about many things. Managa, in Haamea, near the Wesleyan College, Nafualu, was the name of Loau's compound. It is intimated that Loau, quietly at home in Managa, was aware of events distant in place or time.

30. Many of the places named are mentioned because of their connection with the life of sailors and fishermen. To know Ulamoleka's real greatness is but to go to the places where famous sailormen ply their art. There are also chiefly names in the list, which, perhaps, are local names as well, and come into the category of names of places haunted by sailors. Faleovalu, literally "house of *valu*" (a large fish), is a 103

175 Yet there were times, when ideas were thrown  
175 out, by the natives, respecting the immortality of the  
soul, which much surprised and abashed me. One  
day, I recollect, they were conversing about a per-  
son that was lately dead: they said to each other,  
"he goes to the island through the sky," an expres-  
sion by which they denoted a place very far off, as  
beyond the horizon, where the sky appeared to  
[124] touch the earth. Wishing to know their senti-  
ments upon this subject, I pretended ignorance and  
disbelief. "How can he be, said I, in that place,  
when he is dead, and his body is here? Did you  
not bury him some *moons* ago?" But all they an-  
swered was, "But he is still alive." And one en-  
deavouring to make me understand what he meant,  
took hold of my hand, and squeezing it, said,  
"Goomaogge hen, mooe hekai maogge." This  
will die, but the life that is within you will never  
die," with his other hand pointing to my heart.

This sentiment expressed on such an occasion so  
unexpectedly, with such animation and by a young  
man with whom I was particularly intimate, deeply  
impressed me. No circumstance more affected my  
mind during the whole of my continuance in the  
South-Sea Islands. Such a conviction of the im-  
mortality of the soul, expressed by a simple untutor-  
ed heathen, defies, thought I, all the arguments of  
presumptuous philosophers, and infidel libertines.

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I was fully satisfied that they believed the soul to be immortal. I endeavoured then to obtain more information, by appearing ignorant, and desirous of knowledge on the subject. But I could get nothing further from them. Whatever notions they might have, I conceived the poverty of their language prevented their explaining them upon points so abstract.

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And so immersed was I, at this time, in habits of irreligion, that I felt an aversion of heart, to give them proper instruction; nay, I wished to forget it myself; so much does guilt tie up the tongue, and harden the heart against attempting to do any spiritual good, when opportunities offer; and powerfully impel us to depart still farther from God, in order to gain a refuge from uneasy reflections.

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Afterwards however in conversation with some of the chiefs I discovered that they had more precise ideas on a subject of which the commonality had only confused and indistinct notions. They supposed that their souls immediately after the death of the body, were swiftly conveyed away to a far distant island, called Doobludha, where every kind of food was spontaneously produced, and the blessed inhabitants enjoyed perpetual peace and pleasure, under the protection and favour of the god Fliggolayo, who had supreme power over all other Deities, and warded off from his subjects the attempts of all that would molest or injury them. In-

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1 [Errata: this should read Niggolayo. Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

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175 to this region, however, they believed none were  
775 admitted but the chiefs: the tooa, or lower class,  
565 therefore, having no hope of sharing such bliss, seldom speculate upon a futurity, which to them appeared a prospect "lost in shadows, clouds, and darkness."

All, however, seemed to find consolation in calling upon a Deity, in trouble, or applying to him for a continuance of plenty. They solemnly implored 776 his blessing, when they set their yams, and expressed 782 their gratitude to him, when they gathered them, (649) by offerings to Duatonga the priest who personated him and interceded for them. Each district also called upon its appropriate God, and each change in the elements summoned them to address its peculiar divinity. Was there a storm? They called

175 on Calla Filatonga, who, they supposed, was the 776 goddess of the wind. Were they deluged with rain, 782 or parched with heat? They supplicated Tongaloer, 821 the god of the sky and rain, as they said, the Deity was very angry. Was there an earthquake?

175 They cried out to Mowe, a giant who, they supposed, supported the island on his shoulders. An 776 instance of this occurred not many months after we 782 had landed at Tongataboo. We had lain down 829 about 10 o'clock, after our evening service, to rest; when we were alarmed by a considerable shock: but our alarm was much increased, immediately after, by an universal shout of all the natives within hearing, in every direction. The next day we



836 were virgins. This is probably true, but it is likely that more freedom is allowed post-adolescent boys to enjoy what experiences they can in any other village than Pangai. One woman in Pangai is alleged to be a prostitute (*tele tau*).  
[548] Probably she has gained this reputation because of promiscuous habits and a natural tendency on the part of some young men to bring her an occasional gift. Some after dark chaperoning is also due to fear of ghosts on the part of young girls, especially if messages or missions take them close to the bush that surrounds the village. But present ideals of chastity in girls undoubtedly receive considerable support from Christian religious sanctions. Both the ideal and the sanction are stressed continually in Protestant church teaching and in Catholic convent-schooling.

584 Nothing can suggest more vividly current practices of courtship in Pangai than the following account of events in Biukala's life that led up to his marriage:

One day, when Biukala was twenty-three years old, his father asked him which of the many girls of his acquaintance would be his choice for a marriage-mate. Biukala answered that he was not pleased with any of these girls, some he thought were pretty only, and none of them seemed clever. Many Pangai girls had sought excuse to visit his father's house, ostensibly bringing messages for his mother, but in reality trying to display their charms before a personable young man. His father's question served the purpose of bringing the matter of his marriage before Biukala's mind, so he thought he would visit other villages to see if he could find a more suitable mate than was available in Pangai. He already had a mistress in Neiafu whom he occasionally visited, but he did not consider her seriously as a mate.

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276 One day as he was on his way to visit some relatives in an isolated village in Vava'u, he passed through the village of Ha'akio and was casually invited to stop and drink some kava that was being prepared for a group of men, mostly old men with three or four younger men talking idly among themselves. The girl Sepi was making the kava. Biukala immediately noticed her skill, youth, and quiet assurance. He sat drinking kava all the afternoon and evening, studying the girl carefully. Instead of going on to visit his relatives  
584 he returned to Pangai, thought about the matter for four

765 served to all the mourners. This again is most unusual  
 858 for a funeral-feast, which should be a large quantity of oven-  
 574 baked food including the inevitable pig. However, the village  
 276 overseer had suggested that because the deceased was an  
 766 infant and because he had died two days after Christmas and  
 thus in the middle of the holiday-making time, it would be  
 advisable not to trouble with an oven. The parents, being  
 poor, were only too glad to acquiesce in such advice. The  
 mourners disbanded about midday. There was no ten-day  
 mourning period.

766 This account emphasizes the somewhat casual fashion  
 858 in which an immature infant may be buried as compared  
 with the burial of an important adult. It must be remem-  
 bered, however, that the family of the dead child had  
 apparent right to be more casual than most village families  
 would have been in similar circumstances. This was their  
 fourth infant dead. None of the remaining children in this  
 family looked the picture of anything except ill-health and  
 hence the parents could probably expect further deaths  
 among their offspring. It is most likely, however, that little  
 of this casualness would be evident if death had happened to  
 take the first-born and favourite son of affectionate parents.  
 761 Presumably like most people everywhere, the villagers infuse  
 152 dynamic quality into the observance of custom according to  
 the strength of attitude and feeling that they experience.

(765) Where death is not unexpected, or where family status is not  
 (591) at stake, mourning may become casual. Where it is un-  
 expected, or where deep affection is involved, or where family  
 status is at test, then observance of custom becomes charged  
 with all the emotional quality of deeply-felt experience.

#### MEDICINE

757 For most of his aches, pains, and sicknesses the villager  
 759 prefers treatment from one of the recognized experts in the  
 village. He consents to treatment from the white doctor  
 (743) only if his trouble obstinately refuses to yield to Tongan  
 (177) types of cure, and some friend or relative, more sceptical of  
 Tongan medicine, can persuade him to visit the hospital in  
 Neiafu. In general, however, the villager probably feels

753  
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that many types of sickness are due to ghostly visitants.<sup>28</sup> To deal with these ghosts, Tongan methods are more likely to bring about cures than the white man's science. The following treatments were compiled for us by one of the village medicine-men. They are given here, not as a complete survey of the village medical knowledge, but as indicating the sort of techniques that medicine men use in their day to day practice in the village.

*Headache:* There are two main types of treatment:

(a) Massage the head with a mixture of six *uhi* leaves crushed and mixed with coconut-oil; observe also the following rules: keep the head covered, do not go out in the wind, keep away from the sun and the sea; (b) Stamp on the ground three times; then place the feet on a mat and stamp again. Repeat this procedure five times in succession. This treatment is advisable if it is thought that the headache is caused by a ghost. The ghost is likely to drop from the body with the repeated shaking.

*Earache:* If the earache appears to be caused by an abscess or inflammation, massage the region of the ear gently with six *nonu* leaves. On the other hand, should there be no signs of external irritation, then dip the finger in coconut-oil and poke the oil deep into the ear.

*Mouthache:* Spread coconut-oil over the back of the mouth and palate, then rinse out the mouth three times with water.

*Toothache:* (a) Smear coconut-oil on the cheek in the region of the aching tooth; (b) Place a small piece of Tongan tobacco on the aching tooth; (c) Take scrapings from the bark of the *angoango* tree, strain them through the stipule of the coconut-tree and drink the liquid; (d) Collect twenty-four *takafulu* leaves, pound them and drink the resulting juice.

*Sore eyes:* Take six *hulala* leaves, pound them, then dip a piece of bark cloth into the liquid and squeeze out into the sore eye.

<sup>28</sup> Notes on the conceptual basis of Tongan disease are given in a short paper by Collocott, "Sickness, Ghosts and Medicine in Tonga," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 32 (1923) 136-142.

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even though this knowledge is used only for diagnosis and not specifically for treatment. Thus Sane, our housegirl, came to us one morning suffering from pronounced and painful swellings of the hand and arm. Everyone was greatly mystified by these swellings until it was remembered that on the day before, Sane had been gathering wild flowers in the village cemetery. She had noticed us on a nearby beach and had shouted and cried out to attract our attention. This noise had both disturbed, and been highly disrespectful to, the ghosts of the cemetery-dead. They had retaliated by sending swellings to Sane's arm and hand. The swellings disappeared in a day or so, but had Sane consulted a medicine man, the treatment would have been a course of massage. We have no record of any method of laying village ghosts by disturbing or rearranging the bones of a suspected troublesome corpse—a method noted by Collocott.

Many of the villagers are not averse to a consultation with the white doctor provided they do not have to make a two-hour trip to the hospital for this purpose, and provided, too, they are not necessarily expected to carry out the white man's treatment, especially if this treatment is surgical. They do not mind swallowing such medicines as aspirin or sodium phosphate; in fact, they rather welcome the opportunity to do this since the taking of such drugs rather increases their prestige in the community by giving them something of endless interest to talk about with their friends. Fear of the hospitalization and surgery which their government provides for them at no cost is partly a fear based on the novel and new-fangled, partly a fear based on the knowledge that in the past hospitalization has often been equivalent to a death sentence. This latter fear is very real among the villagers and, of course, often well-founded. Irresponsible white medical officers in the past have sometimes thought of their Tongan patients as unprotesting objects upon whom a surgical technique might be polished and refined, irrespective of whether or not immediate surgery was called for, and irrespective of resulting and perhaps unnecessary death.

This and other factors have resulted today in an attitude among many Tongans of going to hospital at so late

1800.]

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death. There, exposed to the heat of the sun, to raging<sup>175</sup>  
thirst and hunger, they were tortured by the boys of the<sup>669</sup>  
place, who amused themselves by sticking spears into<sup>727</sup>  
their flesh, or by showing them food to tantalise them;  
yet some of them lingered till the eighth day, and all  
bore their sufferings without complaint. The people of<sup>[775]</sup>  
Lofanga still say that at night they hear the groans of  
the spirits that haunt the spot.

Having settled the affairs of Tongatabu, Finau Uluka-<sup>175</sup>  
lala returned to Haapai. He found a body of Royalists<sup>669</sup>  
drawn up to meet him at Haano, who after a sharp  
conflict surrendered to him. He disarmed the lower<sup>[727]</sup>  
orders, and punished the chiefs with the same barbarity  
he had practised on the chiefs of Hihifo. From Haapai  
he sailed with Tubou Niua to Vavau, which submitted to  
him after a desultory warfare lasting for several weeks.

For nine months there was peace. The Hihifans had  
not in truth accepted the new order, but they had not  
recovered sufficient strength to resist. On the 24th of<sup>[797]</sup>  
January 1800 the privateer Betsy, with a Spanish prize  
in tow, took away all the survivors of the ill-fated mis-  
sion except the apostate Vason. A few days later, while  
a party of Finau's men were at Hihifo collecting provisions  
to relieve the scarcity at Haapai, the rebellion against  
Finau broke out. A party of Hihifans ravaged the cen-  
tral district, burning and laying waste, and at last hemmed  
in the Haapai men at the narrow promontory of Hihifo.  
Here they took an ample revenge for the wrongs they  
had suffered. When the slaughter was ended they made  
stacks of the bodies, laying them transversely one upon  
another.

## II.—INDIVIDUAL GODS.

776 Bulotu Katoa. Bulotu was the Tongan Paradise. As already  
 [772] related its chief deity was Hikuleo, but it was the home also of spirits  
 [775] of the departed, evidently only of chiefs and great people, to whom  
 [114] perhaps some sort of worship was paid. Sometimes one hears of a  
 [775] being called Tui Bulotu, i.e., King of Bulotu, but of him I have been  
 able to learn nothing. Mariner calls him a minor god of the sea and  
 of voyages, and protector of Finau's family. Tuivakano, the Premier  
 of Tonga, suggests that some of the gods mentioned by Mariner are  
 really the illustrious dead. In spite of the name Tui Bulotu there  
 does not seem any reason to disturb the sovereignty of Hikuleo in  
 Bulotu, home of wondrous plenty, of the life-giving water, Vai-Ola,  
 Water of Life, into which the spirits of the dead seem to have been  
 dipped to restore them to life and the power of enjoying the delights  
 of their paradise, and of other marvels.

Bulotu Katoa, i.e., the whole of Bulotu, was the grandiloquent  
 name of a great deity whose principal shrine was at Boha, in the  
 [361] eastern part of Tongatabu. This eastern district, though not now the  
 seat of the capital, is the chiefly centre of the ancient polity, the  
 residence of the Tui Tonga, the Tui Haatakaloa, and other great  
 776 lords. To Bulotu Katoa the whole of Tonga resorted, the Tui Tonga  
 643 alone staying at home. I have heard him spoken of as the god of the  
 [782] great warrior chiefs, the Tui Kanokupolu, who in process of time and  
 change supervening on the coming of the European have displaced  
 the Tui Tonga, but the real position seems rather to have been that  
 whoever for the time being was most powerful, whether the Tui  
 Kanokupolu or another chief, took the lead in national supplication to  
 this great god, to avert the calamities of hurricane, drought, and  
 776 famine. As a matter of fact Kuku, a very ancient and blue-blooded  
 [565] chief, was most intimately associated with the worship of Bulotu  
 [115] Katoa, and two related chiefs, Tamale (the present holder of this title  
 has given me the best information about this and many other matters;  
 his repute as a depository of ancient lore is probably more widely  
 recognised than that of any living Tongan), and Ma'olo distributed  
 [776] the offerings brought to the god. The name of the priest was  
 [776] Takahi. When *kava* was presented to Bulotu Katoa the Tui  
 [574] Kanokupolu sat with the ring of outsiders at a distance from the *kava*  
 [643] bowl and the leaders of the ceremony.

The dog was the sacred animal of this god, and during his worship  
 a dog lay at the side of the priest. It was customary to use the word  
 [782] *kuli* (dog) in names of Nuku's family. There is a proverbial ex-  
 776 pression pretty closely parallel to our English "Let sleeping dogs lie,"  
 825 which is said to have had its first application to the dog of Bulotu  
 [192] Katoa.



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painful, but the next day I walked about without the least twinge. I asked her how she knew where to rub. She replied that she just rubbed. "Well," I said, "How did you learn to do it?" "By doing it," she answered, "my father used to make me go and do it for people." And that was all the explanation she was able to give. At another time I was cured of a strain in the groin by a man who just pressed the top of his thumb gently on the strain, so gently that I thought he was afraid of hurting me: but I was quite well in a few hours.

The trouble with the Tongan practitioners is that they have little or no idea of diagnosing a complaint. They just try one thing after another, and the massaging, excellent as it is, is frequently employed where it is not only useless, but even dangerous. Diagnosis is replaced by a series of trials and failures; as the Tongans say, "We'll have a try." If one thing does not show quick results, try another. A man went to a missionary and asked for medicine for a little girl. "She is very ill indeed," he said, "yesterday we gave her seventeen sorts of medicine and she is not better yet." Different practitioners have their own special remedies. One medicine man, or woman, after another, tries his cure, till one is found which gives promise of success, which shows a "sign," or until death cuts short the experiment, and gives a verdict which is accepted with pious resignation as the will of the Lord.

Nor are efforts at cure confined to the person of the patient. Neglect of the dead is a fruitful source of discomfort and sickness to the living. Many ghosts, however, do not seem to merit so much fear as pity. Certainly there are bad-tempered ghosts, who are the ghosts of bad-tempered people pretty often, but frequently the dead cause annoyance to the living to draw attention to their own miseries. The root of a tree has grown through the head of a buried corpse, and a living relative suffers from headache. Of course the cause of the trouble may not be located at once. The living sufferer has recourse to one treatment after another. All is unavailing. At length the cemetery may be tried. The grave is opened, the root cut out, and the headache disappears. It happens, in the cases of this sort of which I have heard, the patient has generally, if not always been a woman, and the suffering corpse, or ghost, that of an elderly female relative. Sometimes a rearrangement of the buried bones sets everything right, and effects a cure. This ghostly physis is not effective only in cases of headache. The woman who so courageously bore the loss of a rib made good recovery, except for a small hole which refused to close up. It did not occasion any real discomfort, but naturally she preferred to be without it. An investigation of her mother's bones was at length decided upon; but I have not heard whether it has been carried out. The inconsiderate affection of the

775 dead may cause much trouble to the living. The poor ghost longs  
787 for companionship that it has lost, and wanders forth to seek its old  
friends, and induce them to come with it. It enters, or approaches,  
the body of a living friend, usually by the way a hysterical woman,  
and she may become so violent and excited that several people are  
required to hold her. A girl in this condition gave a man a good  
bite in the side; but this exhibition of her powers did not deter him  
from afterwards marrying her. Perhaps the possessed woman may  
lie inert, taking no notice of what is said to her. She may tell the  
onlookers that so-and-so wants her to go with her. One way of  
treating the trouble is to knead the patient with the knuckles, to  
press the intruder out. I know a man who chased a ghost round the  
body of a woman with hot-water packs.

775 Fainting fits may be due to the attentions of ghosts. A person in  
753 a faint is said to be *mate*, dead. I have heard an unconscious child  
[761] spoken of as distant, or away; apparently the soul was away.

[774] Massage is not the only remedy. There are leaves which are  
potent layers of ghosts. Tongan treatment is homœopathic, and the  
effective leaves have a strong smell. They are said to *namu tevolo*,  
775 smell like a ghost or spirit; consequently they have the power of  
755 scaring off ghosts. A decoction is made of the leaves, and the juice  
757 pressed into ears, eyes, nostrils and mouth, and perhaps rubbed on  
781 the body. Ghosts cannot pass the barrier thus set up. There seems  
to be no apprehension lest the ghost be imprisoned inside the patient.  
When the patient weeps quietly that is a sign of recovery. Her  
tears are in sorrowful farewell to her dead friend who is leaving her.

Procedure is simplified by the patient's telling the name of the  
ghost. The sick girl may not herself know who it is that is so  
unkindly affectionate, but sometimes she sees the ghost in a dream  
or in a waking vision, or recognises its voice. Armed with this  
778 identification of the intruder, friends visit the grave, and beseech the  
769 dead to leave the living alone. There is not a set form of words to  
be used; respectful remonstrance, threat, anything is in order that  
may be supposed to be effective. Sometimes the grave is opened and  
medicine leaves put on the body. A very drastic remedy is to pour  
boiling sea-water on the grave, though this is not necessarily more  
effective than turning the bones about and mixing them up. If the  
head is put where the feet ought to be, and the legs where one would  
expect to find the head, the cleverest ghost is unable to get itself

775 sorted out and in shape for walking. Ghostly visitations are not  
always an occasion of sickness. They may be manifested in mys-  
terious lights. People are rather ashamed of having their dead  
relatives walking about. Neighbours are inclined to judge harshly,  
and to conclude that the spirit is failing to make good its entry into  
heaven, and is exhibiting a not unnatural reluctance to take the final

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plunge into the other place. Tongans are of course unaware of the 775  
amiable company that Mr. Bernard Shaw assures us is there.

The solicitations of dead friends does not at all exhaust the 775  
possibilities of ghostly interference with the health of the living. 753  
Almost any sickness may as well be due to ghosts as to anything else.  
A girl who lives with a European family in a place where there is  
a good deal of bush about, happened to cough in the presence of a  
wise old lady, and was submitted to the following diagnostic  
examination. "Do you cough much?" "Yes, I cough a good  
deal." "Do you sleep by yourself?" "Yes, I have a room to  
myself." "In the dark?" "Yes." "Ah, that is it. In the bush,  
by yourself, in the dark. Ghosts. Now what you must do is to put  
a tent of native-cloth round your bed, and sleep inside that with a  
lighted lamp."

Writers have commented on the simplicity of ghosts, and indeed 775  
they seem pretty easy to deceive. A precaution that is not without  
tender pathos is sometimes taken with women who die in childbirth,  
or whilst they have a child at the breast. A *tappa* mallet is laid on [764]  
the dead woman's arm, so that she may suppose that her babe is with  
her, and so rest peacefully and not go and take her child away. But  
in spite of all precautions a ghost sometimes breaks through our  
guards. A man goes to sleep in apparently robust health, and in the 775  
morning is found dead. A ghost has come in the night and throttled 761  
him, and witnesses are not wanting to testify to marks on his throat.  
Such a death would perhaps be attributed to conduct which had  
offended the ghosts.

In earlier days it was extremely common to sacrifice a joint of the 782  
little finger on behalf of a sick friend, and in the case of a high chief 165  
who was seriously ill a human victim might be offered. Mariner 755  
describes the sacrifice of a little girl on behalf of the chief Finau,  
and I have myself spoken to a man whose mother was an eye-witness  
of the sacrifice of a man to secure the recovery of a sick chief. In  
both cases the victim was strangled, and in both cases, too, the  
patient dishonoured the remedy by dying.

Besides the wide and indefinite number of sicknesses attributable 752  
to the misguided affection or malevolence of spirits, a very large 753  
range of disorders is classified as *fusi*, a breaking. There seems to  
be an analogy with the known phenomena of broken bones and  
strained muscles. The sprains which are amenable to the excellent  
massage are called twisted sinew, but these supposed breakings are  
most varied in character, and as indefinite as the illnesses resulting  
from the pranks of ghosts. The aches caused by lung troubles are  
supposed to be caused by some sort of internal rupture, and treated  
accordingly; both internal and externally. As a cure for an aching  
back massaging is likely to prove effective, even if the decoctions of

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to indicate the attitude of mind of the church members. Needless to say the case has its heathen parallels. 795

Although the worship of the ancient deities is dead, nevertheless there was living in Tongatapu Island in 1921, one Kautai, who had only a few months before been installed as priest of the shark-god Taufu. Though the worship of Taufu has perished and his sanctuary is no more, still the title of his priest lives, each patrilinear successor having the title conferred on him by the reigning monarch. The present Kautai is a good Roman Catholic. This perpetuation of ancient titles is common in Tonga. Ancient powerful chiefs are represented to-day by individuals bearing the same titles, but utterly shorn of power. 795 178 793 [554] 178 554

Three ancient deities still manifest themselves. One is Fehuluni, a disembodied human spirit, who sometimes appears as a male, sometimes as a female, and usually in a siren role. A native fired at a feminine manifestation of this deity with a shot gun, only to find a dead lizard at the spot where the apparition was seen. 776 787

Another deity much feared is the lizard god Tui Haa Fakafanua. His headquarters in Tongatapu are within Catholic precincts, where was formerly his sacred pool. Convent girls shun the spot, for the evil reputation of the god for causing feminine ills still lives. 776 784

Seketoa, a fish god of Niuatoputapu Island, has been much in evidence in recent years. His incarnation is a great fish which follows boats near Niuatoputapu. His presence in those waters is unimpeachably attested by both Tongan and European observers. 776

The royal tombs of Tonga are truncated, terraced pyramids, anciently of enormous blocks of coral sandstone. In recent decades the material utilized has been concrete. Tongans will not walk over a royal tomb, no matter how ancient. 764 [178] [769]

Graves of commoners are marked by little terraced mounds decorated with a mosaic of small stones of different colours. To-day the designs are more intricate than anciently, the coloured linoleum and tile advertisements of magazines having furnished ideas for new geometric designs. 764 531 [177]

Ghosts now and then manifest themselves as of old. In 1921, a Catholic girl, gathering shellfish with women on 775 ●

a reef at low tide, suddenly fell down with some sort of seizure. She was removed to the hospital. She declared that the ghost of her mother's brother had struck her violently across the face. 775

Exorcism for the driving out of spirits from possessed persons is still sometimes practised. 789

In the central province, Haapai, a man severed his connection with the Free Church and became a Mormon. His friends and relatives who were Free Church members, declared there would be no rest for his soul. In a few months he died. His widow and a relative were haunted by his ghost, which would rudely awaken them from sleep by shaking them. The nuisance was abated only when they resorted to his grave and broke up his skeleton. His visitations were thought to be a divine punishment for his disloyalty to the Free Church. 775 [795]

On the night following the excavation of some ancient burials on Kao Island the natives who were encamped a hundred yards from the tomb, said they heard wailing at the tomb. It was the "blood" of the deceased ancients bemoaning the removal of their bones.

Anciently the apparition of an illuminated native sailing vessel—a ghost ship—foreboded the death of a chief. To-day European type vessels and even steamers appear as ghost-ships portending death. 763 [778]

In one of the more remote Haapai Islands is at least one Christian minister who places effective tabus on growing crops to prevent the inroads of pigs and rats. The writer has himself seen plantations guarded by both barbed wire and tabu badges. The latter were observed in two forms. One was a small package of pulverized herbs to cause illness in the trespasser. The other was a cocoanut leaf bound on the trunk of a tree as the emblem of Taufa the shark god. This bore with it the prayer that the trespasser might be bitten by a shark when next he bathed in the sea. 784 241 [754] [789]

Christianity with its Sabbath and various "shalt nots" has found a ready ally in ancient heathen tabu. The tabu idea has simply been transferred to another set of concepts. For the same reason quarantines (tabus) against various islands or groups of islands are readily enforced by the medical authorities to-day. The game laws, too, are heeded 177 784 744 671



## SKETCH OF TONGUESE RELIGION.

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and it was also his duty to maintain the god-house, or temple, in due repair and order.

The religion of the Tonguese, as it existed when they became known to the civilized world, incorporated no abstract principles of belief. It was rather a system of despotism, in which deities, ceremonies, and restrictions, had been indefinitely multiplied, till it presented a chaos of dark superstitions, into which the population plunged headlong, through slavish fear and ignorance. The mysteries and enactments of heathen worship, although submitted to by the chiefs themselves, unquestionably were intended more for the perpetuation of their power and influence, than to direct the ideas of the people to matters of spiritual and eternal interest, or even to those involving temporal improvement. No spirit of benevolence pervaded the system. It abounded in punishments for the present life, and in dark threatenings for the future. *Bulotu*, the Tonguese paradise, was reserved only for the spirits of departed chiefs and persons of rank; who, in their turn, became the servants of the presiding genius of *Bulotu*, and as such were often worshipped and sacrificed to by the people, for the purpose of securing their interposition with the gods. Of the fate of the *tuas*, or common people, there was no certainty whatever; and it was doubtful whether they had any souls at all. A general opinion, however, did prevail, that there was a future state, and with it vague and conflicting notions of rewards and punishments. Their traditions referred to the creation of the world, and probably also to the deluge; but, even then, according to their ideas, a multiplicity of gods existed. Savage rites, and deities who

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nately been described by early travellers with a considerable amount of detail concerning ceremonies unfamiliar to the present generation of Tongans. The European custom of wearing black clothing and black arm bands as a sign of mourning is now universal and carried through much more completely than is usual amongst Europeans, especially in these hot tropical latitudes. In addition the old Tongan practice of wearing a ragged mat is still adhered to. A mat, other than the cloth loincloth, is a mark of respect to superior rank. In the item of the mat as a sign of mourning close relatives of the deceased will wear a ragged mat, but those not nearly akin to the deceased will wear a good one. As a mark of respect to a chief if a mat be not obtainable any sort of belt seems to answer the purpose. A few years ago I was working with some boys a few hundred yards from the beach. The king was on a visit to our island and happened to be standing at the time near the beach. None of the boys would even remotely approach the place where His Majesty was without first girding himself with a piece of mat or some substitute. Some of the boys wound a length of a creeping vine about themselves. Old travellers have noted that, in the presence of a chief, people who happened to be clad about the shoulders turned their clothing back to the waist. It was tabu to have the native cloth (ngatu) about the body, but the mat (fala) around the waist, even if it extended higher up the body than was permissible for the cloth, was not only allowed but enjoined as a mark of respect. The leaves of the ifi (Tahitian chestnut) around the neck were a sign of the utmost respect, and regularly worn by those who had a great boon to ask.

Anciently the disposal of the body of a man of insufficient social elevation to be possessed of a soul seems to have differed considerably from the elaborate ceremonial which marked the interment of a high chief. This is only to be expected, as the chief's body has been the temple of a spirit which lives on in Bulotu, although apparently capable of revisiting his earthly shrine, or in some other way exerting influence in its vicinity. The commoner's body was not the seat of a soul and its neighborhood was less likely to be made uncomfortable by ghostly disturbances. This apparently straightforward division into chiefs and commoners is not so simple as it looks. It would

probably puzzle most natives to draw the exact line at which the class<sup>764</sup> of the soul-bearers ends and that of the soulless begins. Chiefs were<sup>565</sup> buried in cemeteries (to which amongst other names that of *malae* is applied), whilst the lower orders were interred in some convenient place close to the dwelling. A man living alone would perhaps be buried inside his house and the house then deserted or even burned down. The members of a more numerous household would be buried<sup>768</sup> round about the house, and when say half a dozen had been thus disposed of the survivors would seek a fresh site for their habitation. Christianity has endowed the common folk with souls, and promoted<sup>797</sup> their mortal remains to the dignity of as careful interment in cemeteries as that enjoyed by their "betters." In speaking of a very high dead chief it is not uncommon to refer to him as "the chief in such a burial ground, or *malae*." The highest chiefs are often said to be "away," or "at a distance," when their death is spoken of.

After the death of the late King George II, in 1918, the body lay<sup>643</sup> in state for several days (not an ancient custom), and every night<sup>764</sup> during the lying in state multitudes of lanterns were burnt about the<sup>565</sup> palace, and little fires completely surrounded the compound. These were tended in silence during the night, and might not be extinguished until the first had been put out by one of the very few persons—one at least of whom was a woman—of sufficiently high rank to give this signal. In this, as in other matters, foreigners are exempted from the tabus which bind the natives. One morning when a native able to extinguish the first flame was not at hand the services of an Indian cook were requisitioned, or were just about to be when a native appeared who was entitled to perform this ceremony. In the case<sup>767</sup> of the kings the tasks connected with their burial are largely in the hands of the craftsman class or hereditary guild (*haa tufunga*). The tombs of the old Tongan kings stand in inviolate sanctity in<sup>643</sup> places almost untrodden by human foot, and the gloom of forest and<sup>764</sup> thicket enshrouds these abodes of supernatural dread. In modern times the Christian care of the resting places of the dead has overcome the old avoidance of burial-places. The present kings of Tonga, moreover, are buried in the town of Nukualofa, the capital, and the necessity of keeping such a site clear is modifying the old tabus.

## CONCLUSION

However great a wanderer a man may have been during his life-775  
 time it is amongst his own kin that he wishes to sleep his last sleep. 764  
 The gods of a country not his own would resent his being laid in [776]  
 their soil and would attempt to drive him away. The unlucky exile, [602]  
 therefore, would appear to his relatives in dreams and upbraid them [828]  
 for their unkind behavior in leaving him to the fury of such persecu-  
 tions, and would probably soon worry them into making the desired  
 transference of his ashes. It can be very rarely, however, that the  
 deceased is driven to these desperate measures, as the Tongan ob-  
 serves the most scrupulous care in the disposal of his dead. There 774  
 is a curious story of one who left his body and visited Bulotu (Para- [772]  
 dise, Hades, Abode of Hikuleo). He was absent some time, and on  
 returning to the spot where he had left his body found that his  
 friends, despairing of his ever again animating it, had buried it.  
 Since then he has wandered a discarnate spirit, known as a god in [776]  
 Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa under the respective names of Fehuluni,  
 Tuihaatala, and Moso; and with this disembodied vagrant we shall  
 for the present leave the subject.

Some acknowledgments of indebtedness have been already made 115  
 in the text, but in closing these notes I desire to acknowledge my  
 special obligations to my friend and colleague the Rev. John Havea,  
 Head Master of the Tubou College in Nukualofa, whose intelligent  
 interest in all that concerns his race, and courteous patience in trying  
 to make it intelligible to the foreigner, have equally made me his  
 debtor.

TUBOU COLLEGE,  
 NUKUALOFA, TONGA.

# 4

776 Early Tongans lived in a polytheistic world that  
779 was created and maintained by gods (*'otua*), and in  
fact, many of the ancient songs and legends tell of  
771 the gods, as well as of heroes who became deified  
after death.<sup>12</sup> Tongan religious organization in  
pre-contact times and before the introduction of  
western morality was highly complex and very  
intricate in terms of internal structure.

775 Pulumotu, the abode of the gods and Tonga's site of  
the hereafter, was a mythical island which some  
believed lay at an unknown distance to the  
northwest of Tonga, while others believed it lay  
beneath Tonga and had an entrance under a large  
stone or cluster of reeds. There dwelt the principal

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[774]

[p. 39-B]

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[774]  
[784] Tongan gods and the souls of deceased chiefs, nobles and *matapule*; but since commoners had no souls, they therefore had no hope of ever enjoying an afterlife. Pulotu differed from Christianity's view of paradise in that one's status in Pulotu was not affected by his life on earth, for all punishments and rewards were imposed by supernatural means upon mortals in this life.

784 Wrongdoing and neglect of religious or civic duties were believed to be punishable through the gods' intervention by sickness, death, famine, drought, war or a major catastrophe. For example, [681] in the case of theft or a similar crime, it was believed that the guilty person could easily be detected if all

[p. 39-c]

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Bulotu in their favour. Sometimes the priest would remain silent; at other times he would object that their gifts were too small. If he spoke at all, he spoke as the god, being supposed to be 'possessed' by the god at the moment. John Thomas says (*Farmer's Tonga*, 123): 'Often there was another person present, the friend of the god, who acted as mediator, and addressed the priest on behalf of the offerers.' Hingano, a chief lady of great age, described to the present writer how she and others would take baskets of food to the door of Taliai Tubou's temple in Nuku'alofa, and, bowing down, would implore the god's favour. Shortly a white (*sic*) foot would be protruded from beneath a curtain, which they would kiss and then retire.

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If their object was to deprecate a calamity, as in a case of sickness, the rite assumed a darker hue. Fingers were cut off, wrapped in banana leaves, and presented; or children were strangled, and their bodies brought as a sacrifice. When prayers were offered to Fonokitangata, the sacrifice was always an adult. Generally a man obnoxious to the community was hunted down and killed, and his body brought in a basket and laid before the priest; but Mariner speaks of a chief of rank being killed in one instance. The offerers, clothed in old and dirty mats, and wearing necklaces of chestnut leaves, would squat on the ground at a distance, and weep and beat their breasts, while the priest, holding in his hand a war club, the shrine of the god, would listen to their prayers with his eyes fixed upon the club or upon the ground. Sometimes he would reply in his ordinary voice, but more often in unnatural tones, as if some one were speaking in him; and frequently he would begin to shake as if in a fit, and to roll about and foam at the mouth. Any words he might utter whilst in this condition were eagerly caught up as the direct utterances of the god. After a while the shaking would cease, and the priest, striking the ground with the club, would announce that the god had departed. Mariner (vol. i. p. 180) has a good description of this kind of possession; and he evidently thought that the phenomena were not altogether voluntary, but that a real possession of some kind took place—a belief which was shared by some of the earlier missionaries.

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4 The Tongans believed in the immortality of the soul. Mariner, Veeson, and Thomas are agreed on this point.

Veeson says (*Farmer's Tonga*, p. 131): 'One day they were conversing about a person "that was lately dead, and said, "He goes to the island through the sky." "How can he be," said I, "in that place, when he is dead, and his body here? Did you not bury him some moons ago?" But all they answered was, "But he is still alive." And one took hold of my hand, and, squeezing it, said, "This will die, but the life that is within you will never die"—with his other hand pointing to my heart.'

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Mariner and Veeson, too, agree in stating that this immortality is enjoyed only by the upper classes: the souls of the Tu'as, or common people, die with their bodies. This, no doubt, was the belief of the upper classes, who looked down upon the Tu'as as little better than animals; but it is no evidence of the belief of the Tu'as themselves. Thomas says more truly: 'Of the faith of the common people there was no certainty.'

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The 'island' referred to was called Bulotu, and 'through the sky' meant 'over the horizon.' Bulotu is, the present writer thinks, a primitive Polynesian word, and is the name for Paradise in all the dialects. It was situated west or north-west of Tonga, and could be reached by sea. At least the ballads speak of canoes touching there; but how the disembodied spirits got there is not stated. Mariner tells us (vol. ii. p. 101) that Bulotu was believed by the Tongans to be a large island, stocked with all kinds of useful and



775 ornamental plants in a state of high perfection, and  
779 that when these were plucked others would immediately occupy their place. The whole atmosphere was filled with a most delightful fragrance; there were also beautiful birds of all kinds, and abundance of hogs—all of which were immortal unless killed to provide food for the gods. At the moment a bird or a hog was killed, another living bird or hog came into existence. Further on he gives another account of Bulotu brought by a canoe which touched there:

775 'The crew landed, and proceeded to pluck some breadfruit;  
779 but to their unspeakable astonishment, they could no more lay  
539 hold of it than if it was a shadow. They walked through the trunks of trees, and passed through the substance of the houses without feeling any resistance. They at length saw some of the gods, who passed through the substance of their bodies as if there was nothing there.' The gods were supposed to have no canoes, not requiring them; 'for if they wished to be anywhere, there they are the moment the wish is felt.'

775 Now, is this again a development? For the  
779 ballads, which date from a time long antecedent to the visit of Mariner, give a very different description. According to them, everything in Bulotu was material. Its entrance was guarded by a woman with eight tongues. There was a large canoe for the gods to voyage in, which was called Langotangata ('the human-rollered'), because it was dragged down to the sea on living rollers, each being a human being. The same trees grew as on earth: cocoa-nuts, breadfruit, yams, etc.; and provision was made for the favourite pastimes of chiefs. There were eminences for netting wood-pigeons, reefs for shark-catching, 'u'ua to be fished, and gigantic clams to be dived for. Ovens of food were cooked as on earth, and kava was prepared and drunk. The houses had solid posts, and the roofs were constructed in the usual way. One of the halls in Bulotu was panelled with the pupils of men's eyes 'which sparkled and flashed.' The women had a hall lined with mirrors—a veritable crystal palace. There was a *Vaisola*, or Fountain of Life, whose waters were so potent that a child plunged into it grew up to manhood in a few days. There was also a *Vai-lolufufanga*, or Fountain of Perfumery, and other delights of women (see 'Voyage of Falmalie', *Tubou College Magazines*, vol. iii. p. 39).

539 5. Cosmogony.—The earliest chapters of the Tongan genesis ran somewhat as follows:

Some seaweed and slime clung together, and were carried away by the sea, and washed up on the island of Total in Bulotu. By and by there grew up between them a large metallic stone called Fou'iafutu ('Pregnant-how-long-ago?'). Suddenly it began to shake, and sent out a sound like thunder; and, splitting, there sprang out a male and a female twin. The male was called Biki ('Sticky') and the female Kele ('Slimy'). Again the huge stone rolled about as if there was an earthquake, and other twins sprang out: the male called Atungaki (?), and the female Maima alongona ('Vagaries-of-sound'). Again the stone groaned, and twins sprang out, called 'Land-turtle' and 'Sea-turtle.' Again the stone sounded and earthquake, and twins sprang forth, Hemoana (the Sea-snake), and Lube (the Dove).

They grew up and married, i.e. the first pair and the second and the third. The eldest child of Biki and Kele was a son, Taufulofu ('Frequent-overturmer-of-the-land'). The next was a girl called Havaa-Isolofu ('Haven-of-the-underworld'). The second pair had a girl called Vele Lahi, and the third pair a girl called Vele J'i'i. (Vele signifies 'longing' or 'desire'; Vele Lahi = 'Desire the Elder', Vele J'i'i = 'Desire the Younger'). Sticky and Slimy created a new land called Tonga Mama'o ('Distant Tonga'), and put on it Taufulofu and Havaa-Isolofu.

[The next incident is unprintable, but is a realistic setting of the words, 'And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed.' They were ignorant even of the sexual function, which they discovered only by accident. The result was a boy called Hikule'o ('the Echo', the Tongan Satan: see above).]

Then Havaa said to Vele Lahi and Vele J'i'i, 'Come and marry your brothers as I have done, for there is no man for you.' They did so, and Vele Lahi gave birth to the Tangaloa, and Vele J'i'i to the Maui family. Then Taufulofu divided the heaven and earth as stated above.

In process of time the Tangaloa ordered Tangaloa 'Atulongo-longo to go down and see in what condition the world was. So

<sup>1</sup> Teu is sometimes intensive. This would then mean 'complete-overturmer.'

## out the Folk Tales

643 all. In similar positions of sovereignty were the Pharaohs  
[771] of Egypt and the Dalai Lama of Tibet.

771 As polytheism prevailed during these times, it was  
182 the many different gods who were responsible for  
creating and maintaining social relationships within  
the society; for the system of taboos (enforced by the  
gods or fear of the gods), which were early Tonga's  
informal means of social control, kept law and order.

[538] The extent of the influence of the gods on Tongan  
thinking is revealed in the folk tales: "Son of the Sun,"  
"Crying Princess," "Daughter of a Clam," and "Rainbow  
and Her Daughter."

643 Since the *Tu'i Tonga* was believed to be a direct  
776 descendant of the gods, he was himself regarded as a  
771 god; in effect, the *Tu'i Tonga* was the gods' representa-  
643 tive on earth. Thus, a series of rituals, taboos and myths  
771 were associated with the *Tu'i Tonga's* position. His wish  
was law; furthermore, his possessions and his person  
were so sacred that they were not to be touched by  
any unauthorized person without the threat of severe  
[538] punishment, probably death. The paramount superi-  
ority ascribed to the *Tu'i Tonga* is noted in "Prohibi-  
tions Ignored," "Son of the Sun," and "Tukunga  
Kautā."

775 Tonga's underworld, called Pulotu, was the abode  
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[p. 9-B]

● 775 of the gods and the place where the souls of deceased  
565 rulers and chiefs went after death (commoners had no  
souls, thus no afterlife).

182 To add to the complexity of Tonga's highly sophisti-  
788 cated society, events were regulated by particular  
rituals. Among these, for example, were the elaborate  
ceremonies surrounding *kava* drinking (such as in "Momo  
and Nua") and marriage rites (as in "Son of the Sun").  
Such rituals have, to a great extent, remained a part of  
Tongan traditions over the centuries.

175 At certain points throughout history, the Pacific was  
648 the center of great mobility and conquest. At times,  
Tonga extended her dominion to neighboring islands  
such as Samoa (thus the references in several of the folk  
tales).

[p. 10-A]

621 many of these remarks are caused by resentment at the  
794 success of the Mormon Church in gaining new adherents.  
798 Moreover, while there is some ill-feeling towards the  
Mormon Church as an institution, there is no condemnation  
of particular individuals merely because they belong to the  
Mormon Church. People are far more critical of those who  
show little involvement at all in the activities of any  
congregation than they are of any persons for being  
adherents of a particular denomination.

Church Membership and Status-striving

Activities

794 It is a religious duty to participate in congrega-  
795 tional and denominational activities, with damnation in  
[624] the afterlife and public disapproval on earth as sanctions  
[591] for attendance. Besides this, however, congregational  
activities are important social events, providing an arena  
within which individuals engage in status-striving  
activities.

602 The majority of village women, of all denominations,  
562 spend most of their free time among kin, either at their  
[512] own homes or visiting at the homes of close kinswomen.  
[461] When a woman organizes a work party, for example, women  
of the local kin group with which she is affiliated will  
562 form the basis of the work party. Similarly, young men  
517  
883

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## TONGAN RELIGION

[179

and one of the Daughters lives at Hammoah, or Vaughwaugh, Latouleboula the son and the other Daughter at Tongatabu; the latter is she who is mentioned to have dined with me on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June. They were both frequently with us, but never appeared to be persons of consequence nor property. Latouleboula was looked upon by his country men as a Mad man, and many of his actions shewed they were not mistaken. At Middleburg I was shewed a good deal of land said to belong to him, and I saw there a son of his, a child, that they called by the same title as the father. The Son of the greatest Prince in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little brat was.

Not only the King, but most of the great men have a kind of Levy every morning, but the chief purpose of these meetings is to drink Cava, or Kava, which one of the company treats the others with. It is generally, if not always prepared by the servants or toutous; the first cup is brought to the principal person, who for the most part orders it to be given to a nother, the second is then brought him, which he drinks. Then as the others are filled, the person who fills them asks who is to have it and the person who gives the treat names the person and so it continues till the bowl is emptied. It is served out by the servants, who sit down when they deliver the cup, unless it be a meeting of inferior chiefs, than this ceremony is not observed, but great order is always kept up.

Of the Religion of these people, I know little more than what has been occasionally mentioned. Their principles and notions, nearly agree with the people of Otaheite; they acknowledge the influence of superior beings, one of whom is supreme and the rest subordinate. The supreme being I have heard called by different names; the King called him Fatafee, and said that when he was angry he destroyed the produce of the land by giving them no rain, the fish of the sea and punishes them with death, but when he was pleased he gave them health, long life and every thing in plenty, and this seem'd to be all they either feared or expected.<sup>1</sup> I think I may venture to assert that

*faku* to his children. The complications and proliferations were endless, but enough has been said to explain the anomaly of the sacred king doing homage to others who were not kings, but merely sacred. For Paulaho, both Moungalakepa his niece, and Latunipulu his nephew, were *faku*. The niece, the female, indeed, was more *faku* than the nephew: to Moungalakepa the king did obeisance, and in her presence could not eat; in Latunipulu's presence he could not eat, but did not do him obeisance.

<sup>1</sup> Tongan religion is a difficult subject indeed. There were many differences between Tongan and Tahitian notions; for instance, the generally important Polynesian gods Tane, Tu and Rongo did not appear on the Tongan scene. But Tangaroa or Tangaloa did, and it was he who fished up the Tongan islands out of the sea. He fathered the first Tu'i Tonga, Aho'eitu, by a Tongan woman called Ilaheva—and hence perhaps the semi-divine Paulaho's reference to him as Fatafehi. But the distinctive Tongan principal god, shared with Samoa but no other Polynesian island, was Hikuleo; he and the other gods of

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782 they do not worship any thing that is the work of their own hands, nor any visible part of the creation. They do not make offerings of Hogs, Dogs and Fruit as at Otaheite, unless it be emblematical as their Morais are perfectly free from every thing of the kind; but that they offer real human sacrifices is with me not a doubt. Their Morias or  
346  
764 Afiatoucas, for they are called by both names, but mostly by the latter, are as at Otaheite and many other parts of the world, a burying ground and a place of worship, though there are some that seemed to be only appropriated to the first, but these are small and in every other respect inferior to the others.

764 As we never saw a funeral, I can give no account of the ceremony used on that occasion. We only know that the dead are buried in these Morias, probably in something like vaults, or as Omai called them (who was with me when I made the enquiry) stone coffens.<sup>1</sup>

128 I shall conclude my observations on these islands and people with giving some account of the Astronomical and Nautical observations that were made during our stay among them. And first I must observe that the difference of Longitude between Anamocka  
*Latitude and Longitude* and Tongatabu, is less by than in the Chart and Narrative of my last voyage; an error that might easily arise, as the longitude of each was found without any connection with the other, but now the distance between them is determined to a degree of precision that will not admit of the least error; and which the following table will illustrate.

131 The Latitude of the observatory at Tongatabu }  
by the mean of several observations }

[776] 'sais (numerous ones—district gods, lineage gods and family gods) dwell in a region in the  
[171] west called Pulotu, to which the souls of chiefs and *mainipule* made their way; but commoners came, as it were, to a dead end. They have a very Gentlemanlike notion of a  
[771] future State, they firmly believe that Woweatoa never troubles himself about any one but the Eggecs or *Gentlemen* but when they are dead they rot & return to earth & there is an  
[773] end of them.'—Bayly, 17 May. King, 5 July, has something to add. 'My friend Fattafai' he did me the honour to appear much affect'd during the time I was packing up the  
[775] observatory, he with earnestness prest me to stay, & told me that he woud build a large house on the point w[h]ere our observatories stood, & that I shoud observe the heavens in  
[177] peace. It shoud be observ'd, that when these people gave any opinion as to the use of the clocks & other instruments & the reason of our observing, they always supposed the Clock to be an Eatōoa (God) & that we were performing religious ceremonies to the Sun Moon & [c]; many of these notions of theirs were rather countenanc'd, as it was surely better to leave them with ideas of our having some religion than none at all & it is too true, that no other part of our conduct or way of spending our time, could furnish them with the smallest reason to suppose we had any Religion, indeed many of them woud ask who & what was our God, which we endeavourd to answer by saying he was theirs as well as our God, & corresponded with an opinion of their own of one Omnipotent being: the little we were able to learn concerning their religious tenets shall be referred to another place.'

<sup>1</sup> The interpretation of 'stone coffens' as vaults is of course correct; but Cook might have omitted his 'something like'. They were indubitable vaults.



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784 enter'd by the people, the Ceremony call'd Natche was Taboo'd to  
 [764] all but those assisting in it, and in short it is the common expression  
 [65] when any thing is not to be touch'd, unless the transgressor will risque  
 some very severe punishment as appears from the great apprehension  
 they have of approaching any thing prohibited by it. In some cases  
 784 it appears to resemble the Levitical law of purification, for we have  
 764 seen several women who were not allow'd the use of their hands in  
 264 eating but were fed by other people. On enquiring the reason of it at  
 one time they said that one of the women had wash'd the dead body  
 of the chief already mentiond who died at Tonga, and another who  
 had assisted was in the same predicament, though then a month  
 784 after the circumstance happen'd. It also serves as a temporary law or  
 262 edict of their chiefs, for sometimes certain articles of food are laid  
 101 under the restriction, and there are other circumstances regulated in  
 the same manner as trading &c when it is thought necessary to stop  
 it; nay it is probable that the additional word taboo to the name of  
 the island which is simply Tonga has been added from this very  
 custom as expressing its singularity.

784 From the extent and rigid severity with which some of these  
 [775] mourning and religious ceremonies are executed one would expect to  
 find they think it would secure them felicity in a future life, or some  
 other material good, which is really the case but it relates to things  
 merely temporal, for they seem to have little conception of future  
 punishment for faults committed in this life. They however believe  
 that they are justly so on earth and consequently use every method  
 to avoid or rather not to deserve the punishment annex'd to them.

[776] The supreme Author of most things they call Kalla foo'tonga<sup>1</sup> who  
 [821] they say is a female, resides in the skys and directs the thunder,  
 [821] winds, rain and some other things that seem to proceed from thence.  
 [753] They alledge that when she is angry with them the productions of  
 [761] the earth are blasted in consequence of it, many things are destroyed  
 by lightning, and they themselves are afflicted with sickness & death  
 as well as hogs & other animals—evils so great to them that it is no  
 wonder they should endeavour to avert them by all the means in their  
 power. When this anger abates every thing is restor'd to its natural  
 order and it would appear they think it a consequence of their  
 776 endeavours to appease it. They have no representation of this  
 778 divinity, who they say is invisible, but there is little doubt that they  
 pay that adoration due to their ideas of her power and perfection,  
 though not discoverable from any particular external posture that

<sup>1</sup> Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 289-90) thinks this goddess was properly named Calla  
 [?Kala] Filatonga, but otherwise cannot identify her.

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denotes local worship. The Malaeas are however doubtless public 776  
places for that purpose, as their solemn rites are perform'd there, and 778  
their superiority with respect to situation and extent which far  
exceeds any of their private habitations argues; besides there can be 346  
no other reasonable conjecture offer'd about the persons who pro- 799  
nounc'd the orations in performing the Natche & the two that began  
the same thing when we first went with Poulaho, than that they were  
no other than priests and at that time absolutely preferring some  
petition to this invisible being. The next part of their creed is a belief 776  
in the plurality of deities, though all inferior to this one, amongst 821  
whom they mention Toofooa boolootoo<sup>1</sup> god of the clouds and fogg. [821]  
Talle te'boo<sup>2</sup> and some others residents of the heavens. The first in [823]  
rank and power, who has the government of the sea and its produc-  
tions, is call'd Footo'fooa<sup>3</sup> who they say is a male and has for wife  
Fykava ka'jeea,<sup>4</sup> and here as in heaven there are several inferior ones  
as Va'hää-sonooa;<sup>5</sup> Tareeava;<sup>6</sup> Matta'ba-E'varoo<sup>7</sup> &c. The same re- [184]  
ligious system does not however extend all over the cluster of isles; [775]  
for the supreme god of Hapae for instance is call'd Alo Alo,<sup>8</sup> and  
other isles have two or three of different names, but their notions of  
the power and other attributes of these beings would be reckond  
erroneous with us, as they suppose that after death they have no  
farther concern with them.

They have however very proper notions of the immateriality and 774  
immortality of the soul. They call it life, the living principle or what  
is more agreeable to their notions of it an O'tooa,<sup>9</sup> divinity or in- 775  
visible being, and say that immediately on death that of their chiefs  
seperates from the body and goes to a place calls 'Boolootoo,<sup>10</sup> the 776  
chief or god of which is Gooleho.<sup>11</sup> This Gooleho seems synonymous [774]  
with our Death, for all (even you & the men of Feejee speaking to us)  
say they are subject to the power and dominion of Gooleho. They feign 775  
that this country was never seen by any person, is to the westward  
beyond Feejee<sup>12</sup> (from whence one might suppose it is the most distant  
land they know, as many nations have plac'd their heaven in such a

<sup>9</sup> This shows that their notions of distance & duration extend but a little way as they [823]  
suppose an everlasting place may be on the globe.

<sup>1</sup> Probably this is the same as Mariner's 'Too'i foaa Bolootoo'—Tu'i fua Pulotu, 'Chief [775]  
of all Pulotu'—Pulotu being the afterworld. [642]

<sup>2</sup> Taliaitupou, the god of the Tu'i Kanokupolu; also god of war.

<sup>3</sup> This god eludes me, even though 'first in rank and power'.

<sup>4</sup> Faikavakisia, elsewhere said to be male.

<sup>5</sup> Fakafanua, or Tu'i Haas Fakafanua.

<sup>6</sup> Taliafa ?

<sup>7</sup> Matapa'i-l-valu ?

<sup>8</sup> Aloalo was 'God of wind and weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation in general', says  
Mariner, II, p. 107. His sanctuary was in Lifuka.

<sup>9</sup> 'Oma.

<sup>10</sup> Pulotu.

<sup>11</sup> Hikuleo.

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- 775 situation) and that there they live for ever, or to use their own expression are not subject to death again and feed upon all the products of their own country with which it is plentifully stor'd. The [565] souls of the lower sort again undergo a sort of transmigration, or as [825] they say is eat up by a bird call'd *Lōāta*<sup>1</sup> which walks upon their grave for that purpose.

- 642 Their form of government is monarchical and that hereditary, as it has been a long time in the present family who are call'd Futta'faihe's, 643 Poulaho being only a name added to distinguish the reigning king from the others of his family, a circumstance practis'd by all the men of consequence. They seem to reckon their long periods of time by 643 their reigns, for they have preserv'd the circumstance of Tasman [179] having been amongst them in 1643 by that means, reckoning Poulaho the fifth of the Futta'faihes that has govern'd the island since that time; and describe the two ships he had, their going afterwards to Annamocka &c in such a manner that it gives great weight to the good authority and exactness oral tradition often preserves. We are certain that the son succeeds the father at his decease, but it seems not the exclusive privilege of the eldest, as we were assur'd Poulaho had several sons besides he whom we saw so particularly distinguish'd at the Natche. In several respects the Government resembles the 642 old feudal states of Europe, where though all acknowledge the Sovereignty of the Prince there are many who seem to exercise their authority with no less restraint in their several provinces, and are in some respects wholly independent unless in the single circumstance 634 of paying the homage due to the Lord of all. The island is divided 103 into many districts of which we have been able to procure the names of above thirty<sup>a</sup> each of which has a chief who may be considered as

\* These are  
Mooa (Poulaho)  
Hee'hefo (Fee'nou)  
Ha'hagge  
Panaa lai'oonga  
A'teoho  
Mele'kakke  
Mattage'hai  
Nafoo'aloa  
Fai'geeta  
Nooa laiee  
Fa'tafoo

Halongo'ou  
Poha  
Wagge'manattoo  
Lollo fo'nooa  
Tooa'vao  
Ha'vailoo  
Ootoo'laoa  
Hamoo'toogoo  
Falla'jeeoo  
Necoovao  
Lollo'bango

Fanga'laipa  
Halla'kaoo  
Noogoo noogoo (Maree'wagge)  
Haa'toonga  
Taigee'oo  
Anga'hāa  
A'vakka'foohoo  
A'vakka'toto  
Koka'longa  
Noo'gooa'foffa  
Matjeenee

[The greater number of these districts are easily identifiable in Gifford's *Place Names of Tonga*, and the section on land-ownership in his *Tongan Society*, pp. 171 ff., is interesting. Anderson seems to have only one slip in spelling, his 'Noo'gooa, foffa' for, presumably, Nuku'alofa.]

<sup>1</sup> I cannot trace this bird. Mariner defines 'Lonta' as a large black ant; an ant is *lo*.

[1777]

## APPENDIX III

1368]

175 & many young women were impregnable, & I am pretty well convinced  
58/ that the daughters of the Principal Chiefs did not at all appear, Perhaps  
837 from a dread of that terrible distemper which we have given them.  
152

609  
437 Religion. The religious tenets of a new people must always be the most  
565 difficult part to elucidate, superstition appears in such a variety of forms,  
164 as to make, with our little knowledge of their Language, their religion a  
121 very confus'd heap of nonsense; but as this is very interesting, we en-  
175 deavour'd to learn something satisfactory on this head. They appear to  
771 have little conception of future punishments & rewards; but as they believe  
[775] they shall be punish'd in this World for crimes committ'd, they use every  
[673] method not to deserve it. Their Supreme being is a female as they relate,  
175 that commands the Skies, the Thunder & Lightning, & that in her dis-  
771 pleasure she destroys their Country, their hogs, & inflicts them with  
776 diseases; We could not perceive that they had any external representation  
[795] of this invisible supreme being, but we judg'd that a good deal of what we  
[184] heard at the Natche were prayers address'd to her by the Priest. They  
believe a Plurality of Gods, all inferior to the first; some preside over the  
Clouds & fogs, some over the Sea &c, &c & diff<sup>t</sup> Islands have different  
religions.<sup>1</sup>

175 They have juster Ideas of the immortality & immateriality of the Soul:  
775 they call it Otooa a divinity or invisible being, & say that on the death of  
772 a Chief it separates from his body, & goes to a place call'd Boolootoo,<sup>2</sup> the  
[776] God of which is Gooleho;<sup>3</sup> & they say that we & the men of Feejee as well  
as themselves are subject to Gooleho; but their feigning that this place is to  
the Westward of Feejee & supposing an everlast<sup>g</sup> place to be on this Globe,  
shews they have but confin'd notions of distance & duration; in that place  
they imagine they shall never suffer death again but live in abundance,  
[565] upon the like products of their own Country. The Chiefs will not admit the  
Souls of the common People to this Privilege, but say that a great bird  
call'd Loata hovers over their Graves & eats them up. . . .

## 000 TAHITI AND THE SOCIETY ISLANDS, AUGUST-DECEMBER 1777

[Adm 55/116, ff. 1000-112]

AUGUST 13<sup>th</sup> [1777]. We stood for Oaite-peha bay, but at 2 PM the wind  
fail'd us & we attempt'd towing in with the boats; towards the Evening  
we had baffling wind[s] from the land & after many trials were at last oblig'd  
to stand off for the night. As we approach'd this Island Omai become more  
& more an Object of our attention; his anxiety was equal to ours, & we  
were glad to observe him as he grew nearer, more thoughtfull; Capt<sup>n</sup>  
Cook had taken a great deal of pains during the Voyage to prevail on  
Omai to agree to some certain arrangement by which his riches would be  
secur'd to him, & his own consequence rais'd & preserv'd, but he woud  
never listen to any plan, except that of destroying the bora bora chiefs &

<sup>1</sup> Different gods, rather.<sup>2</sup> Otooa was a god, not a departed soul; a chief's soul went to Pulotu.<sup>3</sup> Hikuleo.

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978  
(ca. 1800-1850)

OU9 Tonga OU9

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127 of the missionaries to one another and allowed me to make inferences  
concerning the role of the missionaries: to one another and to the  
Tongans (Vide Thomas, Personal Journal, November 20, 1827; April 11,  
1830; and January 15, 1831).

127 Another type of manuscript source I examined were the letters,  
797 letter-books, and letter-journals written by the Wesleyan missionaries  
in Tonga. Letter-books contained either preliminary drafts or copies  
of letters. The letter-journals were descriptive accounts of the  
missionary's stay in the islands which he copied from his own daily  
journal into letter form. These letter-journals were sent to London  
as part of the documentary evidence of the religious work in the islands.  
Often these letter-journals were edited and printed in a Wesleyan pub-  
lication in London.

127 The ethnohistorical researcher cannot rely upon the published  
letter-journal accounts for entirely valid descriptions. This is be-  
cause (1) the author of the letter-journal based the letter-journal  
account on his own daily journal, and hence made selections of material  
to suit his own purposes; (2) the editor to whom the author sent his  
letter-journal frequently made editorial changes for various reasons.

I read and compared various holographic letter-journals on micro-  
film with their eventual published counterparts. Such comparison  
revealed editorial excisions that were made in the missionary descrip-

127 tion prior to publication in the Wesleyan magazine. As an example, a  
797 published letter-journal of Thomas has the following:

775 While I was out, Mrs. Thomas visited Papa, who made  
many inquiries respecting the soul of her son [ ];  
and when Mrs. Thomas told her that his spirit was

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not lying in the ground, as they thought, but was gone to Jehovah, she seemed much pleased (Thomas, Wesleyan Methodist Notices, 1829-1831: 311).

In his original holographic account, Thomas also had the following information which would have appeared between the brackets, if no editing had taken place:

according to the Tonga notion the soul would remain two or three days at least near the body before it departed and then it would go to a place they call Bulotu (Thomas, Letter-Journal, January 14, 1829).

The researcher can only speculate as to why this was edited out of the published version, but the edited portion was, in this instance, of ethnographic importance since Bulotu, or Pulotu, was an important part of aboriginal Tongan religious beliefs.

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Reading and comparing holographic letter-journal accounts with their published counterparts revealed not only editorial excisions but also editorial additions and changes in some missionary descriptions.

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In a published letter-journal account of Thomas, the following phrase

appears: "Tubou, the chief of this place, and Governor of Tonga"

(Thomas 1829-1831: 421). Thomas was referring to Jiosala Tupou and

only to the island of Tongatapu, since other parts of the archipelago

were under different chiefs. The original holographic letter-journal

which Thomas submitted for publication, did not have the word "governor"

in it. Jiosala was merely the chief of a particular location on Tonga-

tapu, but the published account embellished on his position apparently

for purposes of the Mission's prestige (Thomas, Letter-Journal,

January 10, 1830).



127 this story, yet it sounded 'logical' to some. Whether or not I can  
[825] eventually accept Thomas' description for a statement of ethnohistori-  
[124] cal fact on Tongan mythology remains to be seen, since this is the only  
instance I had recorded an extract of this type from the manuscript  
accounts. But ethnohistorical researchers can gather information re-  
corded in the past, ask the natives for contemporary descriptions, and  
see what is the correlation between the descriptions.

Tongan ethnohistorical information of the 19th Century must be  
considered not only in the context of aboriginal Tongan society but  
also in the context of aboriginal Polynesian society. Do the mission-  
ary descriptions "make sense" in the context of what is known and

127 accepted for other Polynesian societies? The missionaries frequently  
192 wrote of 'otua' and in his 1826 account, Thomas wrote of the 'hotooa  
776 or spirit.' A 19th Century Wesleyan dictionary transcribed the term  
775 as "Otua" and defines it as "God" (Rabone 1845: 20). Other checks for  
external consistency may be made on this term. Mariner's 1817 work on  
Tonga, which the missionaries had access to, had: "God (a spirit of any  
kind). Hotooa" (Mariner 1817, II: no page). Cross-checking Mariner's  
own vocabulary one finds:

Hotoo'a. An immaterial being, as a god, spirit, soul,  
apparition or phantom; also any evil coming, as it  
were, by the infliction of the gods; a bodily com-  
plaint; a boil. This word is also sometimes applied  
to foreigners (ibid.).

In Mariner's slightly revised edition of 1827, the following is found:

Hotooa. An immaterial being, as a god, spirit, &c.,  
also any evil by the infliction of the gods, a bodily  
complaint, a boil. This word sometimes applies to  
foreigners (Mariner 1827, II: lxxii).

127 "Hootooa" or "Otua" is currently transcribed as 'otua and defined as  
 192 "object of worship, deity, god; (cap.) God" (Churchward 1959: 567), and  
 776 the term also appears as a cognate in other parts of Polynesia (Vide  
 775 Williamson 1937: 9ff.).  
 [197]

For purposes of checking on Thomas' own internal consistency in  
 describing the 'otua, his 1826 statement must be compared with his fol-  
 lowing entry from 1828: "Otua's, or the devil as they call their god"  
 (Thomas, Journal, August 21, 1828). At one point in time Thomas thus  
 refers to the 'otua as a "spirit" (1826) and elsewhere as the aborigi-  
 127 nal Tongan "Devil" or aboriginal "god" (1828). Where Thomas' two  
 192 descriptions would appear to be inconsistent descriptions, but consis-  
 776 tent in the context of Wesleyan interpretations of aboriginal Tongan  
 775 religious beliefs, the ethnographic inconsistency is reconciled when  
 797 other Wesleyan missionary descriptions of the time period are consi-  
 dered: Tongans believed that after death certain Tongans came back as  
 spirits, and these were viewed as gods. The Wesleyan missionary Lawry  
 provides the ethnohistorical researcher with an additional description,  
 and also an external consistency check of Thomas, with his own descrip-  
 tion on 'otua or "Atuas."

I cannot learn that they have any knowledge of the  
 One True God--these Atuas are the souls of departed  
 chiefs (Lawry, Diary, October 9, 1822).

The Wesleyan missionary Watkin provides a description which serves as  
 an external consistency check of both Lawry and Thomas. In his own  
 Journal for 1836 Watkin wrote of the Tongans:

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978  
(ca. 1800-1850)

OU9 Tonga OU9

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Their gods who are intelligent agents are demons or the departed spirits of men eminent in their day for their abominations while gods irrational and inanimate swell the number to an almost Grecian amount (Watkin, Journal, February 4, 1836).

This Watkin example was referred to in the previous chapter (p. 35) and I stress once again the fact that the ethnohistorical researcher must evaluate the specific descriptions in the context of the observer-observed milieu. To the Tongans of the early 19th Century, 'otua was a spirit and a god whereas to the Wesleyan's 'otua was a demon, devil, or the aboriginal god.

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Factual consistency, both internal and external, must be constantly checked for by the ethnohistorical researcher. The following Watkin description proves to be internally consistent with his last description in reference to "inanimate" aboriginal Tongan gods:

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[82]  
[776]

In the long list of Tonga gods was the rainbow and the Whirlwind. Eclipses were grand sources of dread especially of the sun to remove they resorted to human sacrifices, and as a lesser offering to that of cutting off the little finger a loss which most of the adult inhabitants of these islands have sustained. Sometimes they attempted to deceive their gods by merely scaring the finger previously amputated and smearing it with blood bind it up and present that before the god as a recent amputation in his honour! But this was I suppose when every available joint of both little fingers had been sacrificed on former occasions (Watkin, Ibid., February 12, 1836).

These two entries by Watkin, of February 4 and February 12, serve as a check on his own internal consistency in his descriptions. External consistency checks on the digital, or actually phalanx amputation, is provided in the account of an early 19th Century French voyager who visited Tongatapu in 1827:

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978  
(ca. 1800-1850)

OU9 Tonga OU9

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127  
797 In 1859 Thomas wrote in his journal of a conversation he had with an eighteen year old Tongan youth. Thomas, who had spent almost thirty years in the archipelago, was telling the Tongan about the past of Tonga:

[782]  
[775]  
[776] and that it was wrong for men to set up intercessors of their own. That it was one of the great errors of Tongan worship that they prayed to departed spirits--chiefs & relatives &c to pray for them & the superior gods (Thomas, Journal, October 23, 1859).

127 In an earlier journal entry for 1839, Thomas provided a description of the 'otua as a totem. He wrote of a Tongan named Simon Mafi:

784  
753  
[776] Just come from the Haabais, hearing that his father was ill, and near death at the Bea. He went to see him, Mafi talked to his father about the true God &c, but the old man ordered him to desist, telling him he was ill, through his having eaten his god. Mafi had eaten the fish called Feka, which had been their family god, and his father charged him with the sin of it (Thomas, Journal, August 2, 1834).

127 Supporting, yet perhaps inconsistent for the ethnohistorical researcher, material can also be found in Thomas' letter-journal entry for the same day. In his letter-journal entry Thomas wrote of the father:

[753]  
[784]  
[776] telling him that his illness was in consequence of his (Simon's) bad conduct to their family god. The fish called Feka was formerly worshipped by this Tribe... (Thomas, Letter-Journal entry of August 2, 1834).

The inconsistency stems from the fact that in both descriptions, Thomas refers to "family" but in one description he mentions "tribe." Before any ethnohistorical researcher can make a broader statement of ethnohistorical fact combining 'otua with "family" or "tribe" in aboriginal Tonga, these two latter terms have to be checked and cross-checked for their consistency based on 19th Century observations.

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[775]  
[776]

On the basis of the descriptions, a statement of ethnohistori-  
cal fact for aboriginal Tonga would be: to the aboriginal Tongans, the  
term 'otua' could stand for either a deceased person or an animal totem  
and 'otua' had as its referent for the Tongans either a spirit or a god.  
This statement is made on the basis of the cited ethnographic evidence.

What Ethnohistory Is Not

121

Extracting and testing all of the 19th Century statements on  
'otua' and determining that which can be called ethnographic evidence  
eventually allows the researcher to make a statement of ethnographic  
fact concerning aboriginal Tongan religion. Ethnohistory is thus the  
application of historical method to a certain body of documents for  
the construction of an historical ethnography (p. 7). Ethnohistorians  
focus on the "ethno-" in the term in presenting an ethnography of the  
people; the "-history" refers not to the writing of historical changes  
but to the application of historical method to gather verifiable ethno-  
graphic facts of the past for a particular society.

Ethnohistory is not a study of change *per se*, although it can  
eventually contribute to studies of change. The term ethnohistory as  
used by anthropologists is not synonymous to culture change, as H. Maude,  
the Pacific historian, has written. Maude has written of the revitalized  
"partnership" between history and anthropology in the 20th Century and  
states that "In providing a distinctive approach to the study of cul-  
ture dynamics it is sometimes termed ethnohistory, particularly in the  
United States" (Maude 1968: xxi). "Culture dynamics," however, is not

127 contain little of specific ethnographic value, but alerts him to the  
fact that subsequent descriptions might contain something of ethno-  
graphic value about the activity. Such a description which portends  
127 future descriptions is the following extract from Woon's letter-  
565 Journal:  
775  
763

We have been somewhat amused of late with some tales which have reached us respecting the proceedings of the unenlightened, especially from a place called the Bea, where the fircest have been - - - themselves about the sickness of their chief who is in a declining state, and who is expected to leave this world for Bulotu, the place of departed spirits, chiefly the residence of chiefs & matabules, and who is expected to take an active part in the government of their affairs when he gets there, as he is said to have great influence on that quarter, his brother being there who died several years ago, and who is interceding for him and his people. The most ridiculous customs are followed up at the Bea to lengthen out the days of the chief and when he dies, we expect great lamentations will be made for him (Woon, Letter-Journal entry of July 15, 1833) [- - - Indicates an illegible phrase in the holographic account].

Woon is describing activities which were taking place at the area known as the Pea on Tongatapu Island, and although "the fircest" Tongans were apparently there, no proper names are given. Of ethnographic interest in this description is his reference to "Bulotu" or Pulotu, and that the dying chief's dead brother has been active on behalf of the living. This latter point has a bearing on the previously discussed concept of 'otua' (pages 53-57), especially the point Lawry made that "Atuas are the souls of departed chiefs" (Lawry, Diary, October 9, 1822; see page 12753). What is really of interest for the ethnohistorical researcher, however, is the activity surrounding the expected death of the Tongan chief. By means of the chronological-synchronous reading method I



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[776]  
[775]  
[787]

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[763]

the vault in which they were afterwards to be deposited. When Bro Thomas waited on the Sick Chief he found him fully determined to choose his idols. He said it was very well for us and Tubou and the people to serve our God; but as for him he was fully satisfied to worship his own God and that he and his people therefore should continue to choose to their heathenish ceremonies. The god that this Chief principally worships died about 20 years since whose bones are now removed; and it is also as firmly believed that that he inspires the present chief that is, that he comes and communicates with him on all important occasions from the invisible world. And the people seem to adore the Chief almost as much as the god who inspires him. It is expected that this chief will soon die, and he intends to be buried in the new vault just now finished. The vault is indeed a marvelous work for a company of poor heathen savages to perform destitute as they are of Tools - it is composed of 5 large pieces of stone one to answer as a bottom and four for each side. These were fitted to each other in a way which was highly creditable to their genius and perseverance and left a space for the Bones about 6 feet long 4 feet Deep and 3½ feet wide. There was a stone also prepared to cover the Vault when the present chief dies. This stone is about 9 feet long 7 feet broad & 1 & ½ foot thick wrought into a square form with one smooth face which will of course be placed downwards [stress added] (Hobbs, Journal, July 27, 1833).

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From this rather detailed description by Hobbs, the ethnohistorical researcher gradually pieces together the events which took place at the Pea. Once again, although proper names of the dying Tongan chief (Fae) and the deceased chief (Takal) are not mentioned, one assumes that if inspiration for the dying chief comes from a deceased relative, as 'otua, then Fae and Takal might have been siblings.

The Journal of the third missionary mentioned by both Thomas and Hobbs, Charles, Tucker, was not available. Tucker, however, did make a letter-journal entry of the events of that day, presumably copied from his own Journal. Tucker wrote:

[797]  
[765]

278 cataracts, the roots are employed in com-  
171 battling beriberi, syphilitic infections, and  
dysentery. The leaves of this plant are  
smoked like tobacco. Usage in other coun-  
tries is reported (21).

278 In Tonga the bark is pounded and the  
juices applied in treating ringworm.

757

GUTTIFERAE  
(Mangosteen Family)

278

137

CALOPHYLLUM INOPHYLLUM L.

*feta'u, tamanu*

This species occurs frequently near the  
sea in Tonga. It is distributed from eastern  
Africa and India through Malaya and Poly-  
nesia.

278

171

The oil extracted from the seeds is used  
in Samoa in treating rheumatism (12). Qui-  
sumbing (21) reports that it is poisonous  
and that the Samoans use parts of the plant  
in preparing an arrow poison. In New  
Caledonia the sap is applied to wounds, and  
oil from the seeds enters into the preparation  
of a digestive aid (19). Natives of the  
Philippines value the oil from the seeds and  
leaves in treating eye disorders; the oleoresin  
is applied to wounds, and an infusion of the  
leaves to hemorrhoids. Oleoresin from this  
species is official in the Mexican and Spanish  
Pharmacopoeias (21).

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In Tonga the oil is a well-known remedy  
for rheumatism (4).

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GARCINIA SESSILIS (Forst. f.) Seem.

*heilala*

This tree, occasional in Tonga, occurs also  
in Fiji and Samoa.

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In New Guinea a species of *Garcinia* from  
the Zenag, Nondugl, and Popondetta regions  
contains saponins and other steroids (30).

In the Philippines the leaves and bark of  
*G. mangostana* L. enter into astringent and  
febrifuge preparations. The pericarp is used  
in curing chronic intestinal catarrh (21).

278

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In Tonga this plant is frequently em-  
ployed medicinally. The leaves are squeezed  
in water and applied to skin rashes; a decoc-  
tion of young leaves is considered helpful  
for stomach ache in children or for infants  
suffering from a "sleeping fit." When it is  
believed that ghosts have caused hallucina-  
tions in a patient an infusion of the leaves  
is prepared and administered.

278 rifuge and it is reported that the bark is a  
[171] depressant (8).

In Tonga the leaves are pounded and  
squeezed through a piece of tapa cloth into  
a bowl of cold water. One teaspoonful of  
278 the resulting filtrate is taken to cure convul-  
757 sions in infants. The drink is sometimes  
resorted to for stomach ache (15).

278 INOCARPUS EDULIS J. R. & G. Forst.

ifi

137 This plant is found throughout Tonga and  
occurs from Malaysia to Polynesia.

278 In Tahiti the pounded bark is applied to  
bites of poisonous fish (19). In Niue the  
137 leaves of *I. fagiferus* are used in medicines  
(31).

278 Koch (15) reports that in Tonga the bark  
757 is valued in treating diarrhea in children.

PUERARIA LOBATA (Willd.) Ohwi

278 fue'aepuaka, aka

137 This vine, frequent in Tonga, ranges from  
Asia and Malaya to Polynesia.

278 According to Yuncker *P. lobata* is used  
medicinally (32).

278 VIGNA MARINA (Burtt.) Merr.

lautolu tahi

137 This long-trailing pantropical vine is com-  
mon on beaches in Tonga.

278 A drink prepared by squeezing the young  
leaves through a piece of cloth into a bowl  
of water is taken in Tonga to cure "sleeping  
757 fits" in infants. The crushed leaves are  
applied to boils, and steam which originates  
from the leaves when they are placed in a  
basin of boiling water is inhaled to cure

[753] fever and headache. Aches believed to be  
caused by ghosts of deceased relatives are  
[775] treated by applying the crushed leaves to  
the affected part of the body.

## LILIACEAE

(Lily Family)

278

137 CORDYLINE TERMINALIS (L.) Kunth.

si

This plant is found throughout Tonga and  
is widely distributed in Polynesia.

278 A species of *Cordyline* is used widely in  
[171] the Pacific (21).

[757] In Tonga the leaves of *C. terminalis* are

[p. 440-B]

278  
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**RHAMNACEAE**  
(Buckthorn Family)

**ALPHITONIA ZIZYPHOIDES** (Spreng.) A. Gray  
*toi*

This large tree is frequent in Tonga and is distributed also from Sumatra and the Philippines eastward to Polynesia.

278  
[171]  
[757]  
[841]

In Tahiti the bark enters into lotions for treating eczema (19).

In Tonga the liquid derived from the boiled bark is drunk in cases of constipation, for coughs, headache, and menstrual pain.

**RUBIACEAE**  
(Coffee Family)

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**CARINTA HERBACEA** (Jacq.) W. F. Wight,  
*ex Saff.*  
*tono*

This pantropical species is occasional in Tonga.

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In Tonga the leaves are crushed, placed in a cloth, and then squeezed in a small quantity of water. The wet cloth is sucked by newly born infants. The liquid is thought to help make the meconium pass.

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**GARDENIA TAITENSIS** DC.  
*siale*

Frequently planted in Tonga for its flowers, this species occurs also in Fiji and throughout Polynesia.

278  
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In Tahiti an infusion of the flowers is taken as a remedy for migraine headache (19). In Niue the root-bark is considered a treatment for headache (31), while in the Philippines the fruits of *G. pseudopsidium* (Blanco) Vill. are used against smallpox (8).

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[843]  
[775]  
[828]

In Tonga an infusion of the bark mixed with sugar and lime juice is employed to relieve nausea, headache, and weakness in pregnancy. A plain infusion of the bark is valued as a cure for hallucinations thought to be caused by the ghost of a deceased relative.

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**GUETTARDA SPECIOSA** L.  
*puopua*

This tree is commonly found near the shore in Tonga, and is widely distributed throughout Polynesia.

[p. 444-A]

TRADITIONAL POLITY IN TONGA 5

The *kau* Tangaloa were principally creator gods and there were no temples or priests dedicated to them (Gifford 1929:289) and the creator of some of the islands of Tonga and of the first people, Kohai, Koua and Momo (Thomas 1879: 12). The *kau* Maui were believed to have fished up most of the islands of the Tongan group. One Maui was also believed to carry the earth upon his shoulder, and an earthquake was supposed to be caused either by a Maui changing the earth from one shoulder to another, or falling asleep and nodding his head. Hikule'o was believed to control the weather and the fertility of the land. The Tu'i Tonga was regarded as her representative on earth and the annual 'inasi offerings to the Tu'i Tonga were actually offered to her.<sup>6</sup>

Although the principal deities were widely recognised, they were not as important in everyday affairs as the gods who were confined to particular localities. Thus each chief and his people had their own gods. These were usually the spirits of their dead chiefs. It was believed that when members of the chiefly class died they (or their spirits) went to Pulotu where Hikule'o resided. There they became gods of secondary order, and were thought to return to earth in the form of sharks, various animal species, and, in one case, an octopus, or were embodied in a whale tooth, a shell or a carved piece of wood (Gifford 1929:289-90; Wilson 1799:272; Te Rangi Hiroa 1935:12).

These secondary gods were consulted in the event of war or before embarking on long sea voyages, and sacrifices were offered to them in cases of illness (Collocott 1921:158). The offerings to the gods were made through a priest, and if he were dissatisfied he would ask 'Do you think I am going to take any notice of such paltry things as you have brought?'. The poor people on hearing this would go to fetch more costly gifts and sometimes, if they received no assistance from the first deity to whom they had sacrificed, they would visit five or six gods in succession. If they obtained satisfaction, it was believed that the gods were pleased and were pleading on their behalf with the venerable

<sup>6</sup> Some thought that Hikule'o was a male god (Lawry 1850:251); Collocott 1921:152).

8 CHURCH AND STATE IN TONGA

782 deities in Pulotu. *Kau'inima* (the cutting off of fingers as a  
[782] sacrifice) and even human sacrifices were often given to the gods  
[787] in order to save the life of a chief. In April 1842 the Reverend  
John Thomas wrote to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Com-  
mittee in London:

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January 10th, 1842, died Fatu, the chief of the Mua. His illness was  
of many weeks continuance . . . At length it was feared that he  
would not recover; and various means were used by Heathens, but to  
no purpose. On the 7th of January, a youth named Feheko, a Chief's  
son, about twelve years of age, was offered in sacrifice to the gods.  
His own father and another man strangled him; but all was in vain.  
(*W-M Mag.* 1843:258)

784 So it was that natural disaster, disease, death and famine were  
731 attributed to the anger of the gods or the displeasure of the  
spirits of dead relatives.

753 Sacred houses were built in sacred places, mostly the burial  
761 places of the chiefly ancestors, where offerings and prayers were  
made to the gods through the medium of the priests. Because of  
778 their prestige and importance the priests received food and other  
[799] gifts from the people (Watkin, Journal, 7 Feb. 1843). The  
sacred places were often used by wrongdoers, or those who were  
being pursued by a chief, as places of refuge. The most famous  
of these sanctuaries was that of the god Tāufa'itahi, whose priest  
was Kautai at Mu'a (Gifford 1929:300; Blacket 1914:121-3).  
The missionary, Walter Lawry, recorded in his diary (9 Dec.  
1822) how Fatu, the chief with whom he stayed at Mu'a, became  
very angry when Lawry reported to him the danger to which he  
(Lawry) and his family had been exposed by 'the savage wanton-  
ness of several natives', and that 'the offenders took shelter in the  
Hoofanga, to beg pardon of the gods; this saved them from being  
[602] killed at once'. In these sanctuaries the criminal was safe from  
attack, because any violation of these places was so serious a  
crime that a human life would have to be offered in atonement.  
(Martin 1827, I:190).

775 Pulotu was thought to be an island to the west of Tongatapu  
[565] where anything mortal could not survive. The chiefs considered  
that the commoners had no place there. Hence commoners were



TRADITIONAL POLITY IN TONGA 9

often called *kainangaefonua* (eaters of the soil) because it was believed by the chiefs and by most commoners that they turned into vermin after they died, though some commoners doubted this belief (Martin 1827. II:122-4). 775 565

There was no moral condition of any kind for the entry of souls to Pulotu. The sole condition appeared to be chiefly birth. Failure to comply with the laws of the community was punished during one's lifetime either by the chiefs who had absolute power over their subjects or, it was believed, by the gods and spirits of deceased relatives who could inflict disease or misfortunes upon transgressors. 681 565 693 784

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Tonga was politically stable. Abel Tasman, who visited the group in 1643, observed that the people of Tongatapu, the main island, carried no weapons, the country was peaceful, and the land was well cultivated (Kenihan 1964:50). 175

This stability was due to the reciprocal relations and balance of interests existing between the various classes of Tongan society. At the top of the social pyramid were the *ha'a tu'i* ('kings'). Immediately below this stratum was that of the *hou'eiki* (chiefs), then the *kau mu'a* (sons of a union between a chief and a *matāpule*), the *ha'a matāpule* (chiefs' attendants), and *kau tu'a* (commoners) in that descending order. At the bottom of the scale were the *kau pōpula* (slaves) (Gifford 1929:111). The protection and jurisdiction offered by the chiefs ensured for the commoners security for both their lives and their property. It created and maintained peace and order, which ultimately resulted in prosperity and contentment. Partly from a deep sense of obligation, besides personal loyalty, gratitude and affection, the commoners were only too eager to carry out their responsibilities towards their chiefs. These included working for the chiefs, giving them the first fruits of their crops and the best of everything they possessed, and fighting for them when the chiefs decided to go to war. In addition, the absolute and arbitrary power of the chiefs, who usually dealt out rather severe punishments, together with fear of divine retribution for violations of the taboos, served as a deterrent. 565 693 681 784

\* The word *ha'a* in this context means class.

Tongans gave honour to women of high chiefly rank. The eldest daughter of the Tu'i Tonga was the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (= female) who received greater respect than even her father or brother. Her daughter was called the Tamaha (= Sacred Child) to whom even the Tu'i Tonga made obeisance. The first Tamaha was the daughter of a Fijian chief from Lakeba, in the Lau group, who married the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, in the early 17th Century; the last Tamaha died in 1852.<sup>(1)</sup>

Through careful inter-marriage the chiefs preserved physical and mental superiority over the commoners. Though the chiefs had unlimited power and were often oppressive they received from their people a loyalty that has remained a characteristic feature of Tongan society. Tongans were industrious to the extent that life in their fertile islands required and their service to the chiefs necessitated. They, however, were regarded as rather indolent in contrast with their neighbours in Fiji. The Tongans' pride was not only a relic of past domination over other island groups. They had abilities that marked them as an outstanding race. Ingenious, enterprising, self-reliant, they have been able to extricate themselves from difficulties that would daunt most Europeans.<sup>(2)</sup>

The most important of the early voyagers who visited Tonga, Tasman (1643) and Cook (1773-4-7), gave testimony to the Tongans' peaceful and prosperous state. They noted the gardens, carefully cultivated and surrounded with reed fences, and the trim tree-lined paths connecting plantations. The people did not live in villages and there was no sign of political unrest or dissension. It was boasted that proclamations could be shouted from one household to another and taken across the island of Tongatapu in a very short time.

Captain Cook's eulogies gave "The Friendly Islands" the attraction of a tropical paradise that aroused false expectations in the minds of many ship captains afterwards. Attacks on ships were due to a desire for the treasures suddenly brought into their remote islands rather than to any latent savagery in the Tongans' nature. Normally the people were friendly and hospitable, with genuine affection in their own domestic relationships and a prevailing gaiety and good humour. Their natural buoyancy of spirit was displaced only by fears of death or other impending disasters and, when faced with these, they had recourse to their religion.

Tongans sat lightly by their religion except in times of distress and danger. Then they brought offerings to the priests' houses, sitting outside and making supplication through the priests to the spirits in Pulotu, the paradise beyond the ocean; these spirits, it was believed, had power over life and death. There was no public worship. Music, of which Tongans were very fond, was not associated with religion. The fear in which the gods were held made music inappropriate. Tongans sang only in festival dances which gave the setting for their treasured lyrics, and in canoe journeys and working parties on shore.

Religion was bound up with the social system. Because the Tu'i Tonga was believed to be divinely descended the chiefs who were related to his line by marriage shared in the reverence accorded to him. So many chiefs were closely related to the Tu'i Tonga that a visitor like Cook was easily puzzled by the many who received quasi-royal honours. The chiefs received offerings for both religious and social reasons. Pulotu was reserved for them; commoners, it was held, had no souls and were not entitled to an after-life.

[1862]

The king had written to John Eggleston, Missionary Secretary, suggesting that the missionary collections should be free-will offerings and not, in any sense, exactions upon the people. Eggleston not only agreed with this but added that, if the collections were enforced by kingly authority, the priests might expect the same for their Church. In this letter (19 September 1862) Eggleston consoled with Tupou in the loss of his son, Vuna, but expressed a sentiment strange to our modern ears, 797 643 794

"Had he lived he might have been led astray and died without hope, and then you might have been for ever separated." (26)

The ceremonies at Vuna's funeral showed a change in the people's mood and a sharp resentment from the king and chiefs against the missionaries' strict supervision. When the burial took place at 'Uiha in January 1862, the old custom of presenting mats &c. (*tukuofa*) as to the dead was revived. It was said by some that the presentations were made to the king, by others that it was a mark of respect to the dead. The procedure was that mats and food were taken to the grave, with a prayer that the spirit of the dead would not return to curse the people.<sup>(27)</sup> It was because this was the original purpose of *tukuofa* that it had been banned. John Thomas in his Journal recorded the promise of the king in 1848 to prohibit *tukuofa* and his injunction upon the chiefs to observe this.<sup>(28)</sup> The legal prohibition, however, had been removed in 1861. 644 764 775

W. J. Davis, who was Chairman of the Mission in 1862, lacked the sensitivity and good judgment of his predecessor, Thomas Adams. When the funeral presentations were made, Davis expelled between 30 and 40 preachers from their positions for three months; these included some of the chiefs. "The king and queen were in a great state of exasperation because of this" and, later, "The king was still pained"<sup>(29)</sup> — so much so that he resigned from all his positions in the Church. 643 797

Davis wrote to Eggleston, Missionary Secretary, about what had happened and stated that the decision to expel had been taken by a unanimous vote in the District Meeting.<sup>(30)</sup> Davis spoke of "doing battle in high places" against the chiefs and the Parliament. Eggleston, however, wrote an official letter of disapproval, and also a "private and confidential" reply which was firm and explicit indeed: 797

"Unless you greatly alter you will drive the king and queen and all who love them away from our Church. . . . You will create an impassable gulf between yourself and King George for all you say will most likely be repeated to His Majesty. . . . I believe slander is doing far more mischief in your group than drinking or smoking. I feel assured that, if your letters were read in Conference, they would seriously affect your position, and I am anxious that you should not act in a way that will compel the Conference to appoint some other brother to take charge of the district. . . ."

"The king's unwillingness to treat with you on matters connected with the Church might arise not from indifference to the subjects but from the deep sense of injury inflicted upon him and his people by an undue severity in the exercise of discipline. You cannot rule him and others now like a parent of children; they will not submit to it." (31)

Those closing words might well have been underlined for the benefit of all missionaries in Tonga at that time and in following years.

The Conference in Sydney endorsed Eggleston's action. It also resolved to send Stephen Rabone, "as an old pastor and friend of the king" to visit Tonga, believing that "his counsels would be beneficial to all at this trying period in the history of the Mission".<sup>(32)</sup> Rabone was unable to make this visit.

/246 cont./

772 world consisted of two fundamental types: (650)

(113)

650. H. Nevermann, Götter der Südsee / Gods of the South Seas/. Stuttgart 1947. p. 75.

the high (that is, the gods, the Mana (651),

(778)

651. "The essence that is extraordinarily effective" (that results in courage, bravery, talent, luck and physical strength in above-average measure) (ibid., p. 39).

the nobles, light and day, life and so on) and the low (that is, the commoners, darkness and night, everything that destroys, death and so on).

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People believed that a human being consisted of three parts: the

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body and vital energy (both of which were perishable) as well as the

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phantom-being that separates itself from the body after death and goes on living independently. (652)

652. H. Nevermann, loc. cit. pp. 39/40.

(565)

The Tongans, however, qualified this by saying that only nobles possessed such phantom-beings whereas for commoners there was no life after death. (653)

653. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 121, 136.

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Thus, according to the popular belief, only the deceased nobles

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lived in that world beyond, which was never seen by human beings,

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which lay in the distant northwest and was called pulotu; there the phantom-beings of chiefs and the matapule serving them enjoyed an existence which, in accordance with their particular rank, was similar to their past earthly one, but was easier and more pleasant--quite simply, godlike. (654)

654. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 105, 108, 135.

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There, the phantom-beings of chiefs were endowed with godlike power

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and were able to return to Tonga and appear to priests, to their

[No p. 371 in translated manuscript--Analyst]

/246 cont./

relatives and also to other human beings. (655)

655. Ibid. pp. 105, 138.

The entire population, however, (that is, Tongans of all ranks) were subject to the power of the gods. The multitude of Tongan gods may be divided into "great gods," "the chiefs of the past who became deities," and demons. The former lived on earth as human beings, but were gods from the very beginning and had great power to do good and evil toward mankind. (656)

656. See also J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 103/104. Of the four great Polynesian gods Tu (Ku), Tane (Kane), Ro'o (Lono) and Ta'aroa (Kanaloa), the first three seem to have been unknown in Tonga (at any rate in 1800), while the last one is mentioned as Tangaloa (see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 112 ff; E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/ p. 289).

They made themselves known through priests, appeared in the shape of animals (lizards, dolphins, water snakes) and also entered into images or into simple things (such as stones).

/247/ The chiefs of the past who became gods, like the great gods but to a lesser extent, were able to bring good and evil to human beings; often they appeared to warn, help and advise, (657)

657. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 104, 106.

and may therefore also be regarded as "tutelary gods," especially since the majority of them had only local, or even merely familial significance.

The demons or malignant kobolds, however, (according to Mariner) (658)

658. J. Martin, ibid., pp. 104, 119/120.

in conformity with their negative function, were always up to bad tricks and, out of pure mischief, inflicted on human beings the many little

/249 cont./

797 develop an effectiveness comparable to the Wesleyans who at that time had already been working intensively for 16 years. But even they converted a number of Tongans to their faith and were able to found a few congregations, especially since they embraced a few heathen chiefs whom the Wesleyan Tongans, for political reasons, regarded as hostile, and because they often proved more tolerant than the Methodists. The year 1852 then brought the final consolidation of a Christianized, peaceful and united Kingdom of all the Tonga Islands under the aforementioned Taufa'ahau who, as King George Tupou I, ruled into the 90s of the 19th century. (669)

669. See p. 158 ff.; for the history of the missionization of the Tonga Archipelago see also G. Koch, "Die fruhen europaischen Einflusse auf die Kultur der Bewohner der Tonga-Inseln" /Early European influences on the culture of the inhabitants of the Tonga Islands/, manuscript dissertation, Gottingen 1949. pp. 70-83.

791 Today all Tongans are Christians so much as a matter of course  
198 and with such devotion that their old religion is almost completely forgotten. The ancient Tongan conception of the world with the  
[792] idea of high and low beings has been replaced by the Christian ideas of the good (pleasing to God) and the evil (satanic). The idea of  
791 the phantom-being that characterized only the nobility has been  
795 superseded by the belief in the individual eternal soul of all ranks  
565 of Tongans and the resurrection of the body. The conviction that  
792 all misdeeds were punished only on earth and that the phantom-being  
178 of nobles alone led a paradisiac life in distant pulotu was replaced by the Christian doctrine of divine justice not only in this world, of damnation and hell, of salvation and heaven. Instead of the  
791 virtually countless Tongan gods there is only one almighty God  
796 (in a Trinity which, to be sure, is difficult to comprehend). The  
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/250 cont./

177 insofar it is theoretically clear and comprehensible; for even though  
178 today one can observe devotion to Christian faith, it probably  
179 takes on, as everywhere in the world, countless forms in the minds  
and attitudes of human beings, thus making generalizations difficult.  
Yet it can be said that the Christian religion with its main doctrines  
is today firmly rooted in Tonga. The natives, with their characteris-  
(181) tic Polynesian emotionalism (which often increases to sentimentalism),  
(152) give themselves wholeheartedly to this religion. They believe--or  
think they believe; for if their old religion with its tremendous num-  
ber of gods was scarcely comprehensible to the individual, the  
Christian religion with its often complicated and abstract doctrines  
is perhaps even more difficult for the Tongans to understand. One  
may probably say: this native is a devout Christian insofar as he  
understands the Christian religion. (670)

670. According to a Catholic missionary questioned  
in Tonga, some Tongans are able to grasp the  
core of Christian doctrines, but very many do  
not understand them entirely. "We must simply try  
to get as far as we possibly can..." he said.

And even here; a reservation is necessary: the Tongan today thinks and  
feels like a Christian, especially during the church services and in  
his prayers, while his practical /251/ actions (for example, with  
regard to the observance of rules pertaining to marriage) sometimes  
seem to be dictated by other motives. This discovery, however, is  
probably nothing unusual, since it is more or less true not only of  
Tonga, but of all countries in which Christians live.

177 The old religion has been forgotten, except for a few surviving  
178 remnants that seem insignificant and are similar to European  
179 superstitions. Above all, the fear of ghosts is a religious heritage  
from the past. Many old people and even young ones avoid passing  
(784) certain places (for example, cemeteries) in the dark. Even strong and

/251 cont./

771 intelligent men are convinced that spirits exist (671)  
775  
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671. These are today known as tevolo (devils),  
as a result of mission work.

and are seized with cold fear, for example, while riding horseback  
at night in bushland. It sometimes happens that Tongans report

(787) ghastly experiences which they allegedly had with such spirits. Some  
771 natives also believe, as they did in the past, (672)  
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672. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 236.

787 that the call of the sikota bird announces disaster and that it  
825 embodies the voice of a dead person. The fata is similarly regarded  
(763) as a bird of death; if they hear it at night, the early death of a  
villager may be expected. The tapu that has degenerated to nothing

784 more than simple magic in the form of using taboo against theft on  
789 field products and fruit trees by means of /attaching/ bunches of  
685 foilage (673)  
178

(753) 673. Leaves wrapped in raw tapa (feta'aki) with a  
strip of feta'aki hanging on it to mark it;  
the thief stealing fruit on which a taboo  
has been placed is supposed to be punished  
with certain illnesses (for example, ulcers,  
paralysis).

was still used up to a few decades ago; today the natives rely on  
their own vigilance, and in places where they suspect plantation  
thefts they station cooperative groups of watchmen. (674)

(753) 674. See also pp. 99-102 on taboo in present-day  
Tonga; some natives also still believe that  
it is not good to take food leftovers and  
cigarettes from a chief; ulcers on the chin  
area are supposed to be the consequence.

773 The beautiful old myths are mostly forgotten, except for those that  
178 are today taught in the schools and that have kept the character of  
fairly tales that people like to listen to but that they do not  
believe to be true. When earthquakes, which are frequent in Tonga,

# 776

**776 SPIRITS AND GODS**--conception of supernatural beings of a higher order than disembodied souls; indications of their genetic relationship to ghosts; prevalent types of supernatural beings (e.g., guardian and familiar spirits, tutelary divinities, tribal gods, nature spirits and gods, angels, animal and totemic divinities, fairies and sprites, demons, mythical monsters, deified heroes and saints, divine tricksters, occupational or functional deities, creator gods, rulers of the spirit world, high god or supreme being); attributes of individual deities and of categories of divine beings (e.g., name, sex, form, character, powers, functions, symbols); hierarchical arrangement (e.g., polytheistic pantheon, dualism, henotheism, monotheism); etc. See also:

Totemic beliefs associated with kin groups . . . 61 Hero worship . . . . . 769  
Religious practices . . . . . 78

King George I belonged to the Haa Ngata Motua, the lineage of his father; his mother was of the Haa Havea; he was adopted by the [Tui?] Haa Teiho. William Tungi belongs to Haa Takalaua, the lineage of his father. Taimi or Salote Toafili-moeunga belongs to the lineage of her father, the Haa Fale Fisi, her mother's lineage was the Haa Vaea. Fangupo of Vavau belongs to Haa Ngata Tupu, presumably through his father. John Tupou, of Nukualofa, belongs to Haa Takalaua, the lineage of his father. Malakai Lavulo, of Pangai, Lifuka, belongs to the Haa Ngata Motua through his father. William Finau, to that of his father, Haa Fale Fisi, his mother's was the Haa Havea. John Nuku Finaulahi belonged to his father's Haa Ngata Motua, his father's mother was of the Haa Latu Hifo. Moungatonga of Fotuhaa Island, Haapai, belongs to Haa Takalaua. Naitoka belongs to Haa Ngata Motua, the lineage of his father. He recognizes Ahomee of the Haa Vakatofo division of this lineage as his chief, to whom he is related. Although Naitoka was born at Nukualofa in central Tongatabu, his father was born in the Hihifo (western) district of that island, which is the stronghold of the Haa Ngata Motua.

Tracing of lineage through the mother is not considered proper and is usually followed only because the connection with the mother's *haa* gives greater prestige or because the father is a foreigner. If annoyed at something, a person might shift his allegiance from his father's to his mother's chief. Tamale, the aged and erudite chief of Niutoua, quoted the proverb, "He oku ai ha ika e lele ki he mahi" (The fish is hardly likely to swim backward), meaning that in *haa* reckoning a person would follow his father rather than his mother. Needless to say, where the tracing of lineage is correctly patrilinear, the mother's *haa* is remembered.

The following are examples of matrilinear reckoning of the *haa*:

Mafi, a woman, belongs to mother's lineage Haa Takalaua; mother, a woman of Lifuka Island, Haapai; father, a man of Niuatoputapu, to which place her mother was taken upon marriage. The *haa* of father not known.

Daniel Faupula, son of John Faupula, who was a Fijian of Lakemba, belongs to the Haa Fale Fisi through his mother who belonged to the Haa Ngana division of that lineage.

John Fakailotonga belongs to Haa Takalaua through his father Tuakilotoa.

John Feiloakitau Kaho, younger brother of the late premier Tui Vakano, states that he and his brothers belong to the Haa Havea through their mother. Their father was of the Haa Toutai Fokololo.

An adopted child belongs to the *haa* of the adoptive father.

Gods were connected with the various lineages and incidentally sacred animals in which the gods became incarnate. There is no belief in descent from the sacred animal. It is said that there were no badges or tattoo patterns to distinguish members of different lineages.

Agents or ambassadors (*malanga*) of certain of the great lineages seem to have resided with neighboring great lineages and acted as intermediaries in all their transactions of importance; for example:

Vahai was originally ambassador of the Haa Latu Hifo to the Haa Ngata Motua. He was invited by the Haa Ngata Motua to become a member and he accepted. Momotu, who resides with the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs at the seat of Ata, the head of this

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*fakafaahinga* means "to act in tribes, to maintain the distinction of tribes." 613 Moreover the dictionaries equate the three words *haa*, *faahinga*, and *matakali*. Doubtless they are used interchangeably to-day and their former, perhaps distinct, meanings have become merged. The word *matakali* is cognate with Fijian *matanggali* (51, vol. 1, p. 264). Certainly the Fijian *matanggali* and the Tongan *haa* have much in common.

Besides being used for a division of a *haa*, the term *matakali* was used by one informant for a village as a whole. He spoke of the village of Okoa, Vavau, as forming a *matakali*. The village and island of Okoa form one of the hereditary tracts belonging to Tui Lakepa, one of the four chiefs who head divisions of the Haa Fale Fisi and it is possible that the informant was thinking of this when he said, "all of the people of Okoa form a *matakali*." Whether he included people married into the village, as well as natives, was not ascertained.

The Haa Fale Fisi is divided into four parts: Haa Ngana of which Tui Haa Ngana is chief, and of which Nganatatafu, brother of the twentieth Tui Tonga (Tatafueikimeimua) was the eponymous ancestor; Haa Teiho of which Tui Haa Teiho is chief; Haa Ngana of which Malupo is chief; and a fourth part of which Tui Lakepa is chief. Tui Lakepa is regarded as the head of the Haa Fale Fisi as a whole. Apparently the presence or absence of *haa* subdivisions depends upon the prominence of the chiefs within a *haa* and the number of their people.

Major and minor divisions of *haa* are revealed in the Haa Ngata Motua, the most powerful and numerous lineage of modern Tonga. In this lineage, the several chiefs probably head divisions of the *haa*. The chief Ahomee heads the division Haa Vakatolo which is subdivided into four parts: (a) Haa Latakofe, to which Ahomee himself belongs and of which he is the head; (b) Haa Leleka, of which Lavaka-vao-leleva is head; (c) Haa Motua, of which Napaa is head; (d) Haa Melie, of which Mahakimata is head. Lavaka-vao-leleva, Napaa, and Mahakimata are younger brothers, either lineal or collateral, of Ahomee. Ahomee applied the term *matakali* to the four subdivisions. The god of all four subdivisions of the Haa Vakatolo is Tui Fisi and the *fehi* tree is sacred to him. Ahomee stated that the organization of the Haa Vakatolo division of the Haa Ngata Motua is a fair sample of Tongan *haa* organization. 776 778 724

Another example of divisions of a *haa* is presented by the Haa Motuapuaka, in which the distribution of the divisions has been obviously affected by ceremonial considerations. The Haa Motuapuaka is represented in six island groups: Tongatabu, Haapai, Vavau, Niuatoputapu, Niuafoou, and Uvea (Wallis, beyond the limits of the modern kingdom of Tonga). In each of these six island groups the Haa Motuapuaka is represented by two

heads of subdivisions or families (as the informant actually called them).<sup>613</sup> The two family heads in each group are (1) Kamoto and Uhi, in Tongatabu; (2) Kofe and Afeaki, in Haapai; (3) Fotu and Afu Haa Laufuli, in Vavau; (4) Sika and Kaufanga, in Niuatoputapu; (5) Masila and Haulano, in Niuafoou; (6) and Elili and Fakahenga in Uvea. Motuapuaka, of Tongatabu is regarded as the head of the entire *haa*, in spite of the fact that Kamoto and Uhi are said to be his superiors in rank. The ascendancy of Motuapuaka himself is attributed to the influence of the Tui Kanokupolu chiefs. The relationship of the two heads in each group was not ascertained, nor was their relationship to Motuapuaka himself. The Motuapuaka who was living in 1921 was senile and useless as an informant.

The Haa Motuapuaka held the octopus (*fcke*) in reverence, as the incarnation of their god. All members of the Haa Motuapuaka trace their descent to Molofaha, a Samoan man. <sup>[825]</sup>  
<sup>[776]</sup>

The very widespread distribution of the Haa Motuapuaka is undoubtedly deliberate. Motuapuaka is one of the two chief ceremonial attendants of the Tui Kanokupolu. The heads of families in each island group function in Motuapuaka's place when the Tui Kanokupolu visits these groups and Motuapuaka himself is not in attendance. The questions suggest themselves as to whether these men are really of the same blood as Motuapuaka, and whether, in order to meet ceremonial requirements, individuals of other blood have not been arbitrarily assigned to the Haa Motuapuaka.

#### LINEAGES IN SPEECH PRELUDES

Before a speaker settles down to the matter which causes him to address<sup>195</sup> an assemblage of chiefs he must enumerate the various great chiefs and<sup>537</sup> lineages, saying, "Tapu to so-and-so, and tapu to so-and-so," etc. These personages are said to be mentioned in order of rank, but the recorded speeches<sup>576</sup> do not altogether bear this out, or perhaps the relative rank of different chiefs<sup>[622]</sup> has varied, just as the Tui Tonga and Tui Haa Takalaua have gone into total<sup>[613]</sup> eclipse. In fact there are two great preludes (*fakataputapu*), one obsolete<sup>[643]</sup> and connected with the Tui Tonga and his kava circle, the other connected with the Tui Haa Takalaua or Tui Kanokupolu and his kava circle. The first is called the prelude of the Kauhalauta (Inland-side-of-the-road), the second is called the prelude of the Kauhalalalo (Shore-side-of-the-road), as these two great royal houses are metaphorically called. Nowadays it is customary to mention the Deity first, then the King and great chiefs. After completing the enumeration the speaker says, "And allow me to speak."

Two examples of preludes for speeches at the Tui Tonga's kava circle<sup>195</sup> were recorded. One has been published (15, p. 32), the other is given<sup>537</sup> below. These differ considerably from one another, a fact open to two in-<sup>574</sup>  
<sup>643</sup>  
<sup>576</sup>



## ANCIENT LINEAGES

The fact that most of the modern lineages do not antedate 1600 in their traditional origins causes speculation as to what the lineages were before that date. That there were earlier lineages seems without a shadow of doubt, for it seems inconceivable that lineages suddenly originated with the assassination of Takalaua in the fifteenth century. Moreover, the apparently transient character of the modern lineages, which obviously depend upon the political prestige of their heads, makes it all the more apparent that there must have been similar groups before 1450. A traditionally older lineage is the Haa Talafale. Perhaps more ancient is the Haa Vaipoa, reputed to antedate the Tui Tonga's control of the Vavau group. This *haa* seems to be without members to-day. Its god was probably Mahina, who went from Vavau to Tongatabu with water in his mouth, which he dropped at Tufumahina. 613  
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Tongan place names seem to offer a clue to the ancient lineages. Of place names recorded, 284 begin with the stem *haa*, the term used in designating the several great modern lineages. (See 25, pp. 77-89.) Although to-day these names refer only to places and not to people, it is conceivable that they once referred to the people who lived in these places. This view is strengthened when it is noted that several of the place names refer to ancient chiefs and are thus comparable to the modern lineage names. The paternal aunt of Tui Haa Teiho stated that most of the tracts which formerly belonged to the Tui Tonga had names beginning with the stem *haa*. [776]

Among other things, the place names refer to bodily peculiarities (*Haaila*, family or lineage with a mark on the body; *Haamotuavae*, family of the big toe), to occupations (*Haafata*, family of bearers; *Haafetuku*, family of carriers; *Haafeuni*, family of weavers; *Haafota*, family of masseurs), and to plants and animals (*Haahenga*, family of the parrakeet; *Haakaho*, family of the reeds; *Haakulu*, family of the *kulu* trees; *Haalai*, family of the *lai* fish.) These plant and animal names suggest a former totemism, but more likely refer to the plant or animal sacred to the god of the lineage: an assumption in accord with the modern lineages, which had patron deities and sacred animals, although there was no belief in descent from animals. 103  
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The multiplicity of these supposed lineages revealed by place names makes it likely that the ancient lineages comprised much smaller numbers of people than the few lineages to-day. On the other hand, granting that the place names do stand for ancient lineages, it is unlikely that they were all contemporaneous. Doubtless old ones died out, or were submerged by changing political fortunes, and new ones arose, just as the most powerful modern lineages have arisen within the last three centuries. [825]  
[776]

The first Matauvave came from Mua, Tongatabu. He was accompanied by an official named Uto [probably Kolomoeto mentioned above]. Matauvave went to live in Uoleva Island. If he wanted to let the people know that he was going to give a command (*fono*) he would send someone to the north shore of Uoleva to remove his garment and expose his buttocks. Then the people in Lifuka would know that the governor was going to give a command as to certain work to be done. If the signal were given in the afternoon, the people assembled that evening in Uoleva. When a chief's grave was to be dug or a pigeon mound to be erected sufficient labor was obtained for the earth to be dug and the mound formed in the night. In the morning the mound (*sia*) would be already made. The only reason the informant could assign for the night work was to make the people "sorry."

Uoleva was set aside as a pigeon reserve and had only the necessary people dwelling on it. The Uoleva mounds were built by the Lifuka people. The name of the first mound built on Uoleva was Finevalapililolo. The second was Siamaka. The third was Siakape; the fourth was Kulufotu. Kulufotu was where the wild pigeons were caught with nets set on long poles, into which they were decoyed by a captive pigeon on a long cord. Tunuetekekaekaieteika was the fifth pigeon mound built and Tulikituahaa the sixth. A seventh mound was Mamataatu. The present Matauvave said there were many others built, about thirty in all, but he knew the names of only seven. He said all were provided with ramps or steps and that some were larger than the Siamafuata in Tongatabu. He knew of no sacrifices in connection with pigeon mound construction.

Matauvave would stand on the *sia* of Mamataatu. At dusk a flock of pigeons would make a sudden appearance in Lofanga Island. Then they would come to Matauvave's *sia* and he would catch them. But the *lupetoto* (perhaps "pigeon spirit") died there and not one pigeon came again. Then he shifted to Muioto in Haano and the name of the *sia* erected there by the Haano people is Toloke. It seems likely that the numerous pigeon mounds on the neighboring Nukunamu Island may have been erected also under a Matauvave's directions. Pigeons migrated from Samoa to Tonga in October, when it was said that anciently they came in such numbers as to look like a cloud. They were said to remain in Tonga until March. [The species is *Globicera pacifica*.]

The mound Huluipaongo on the shore of Lifuka Island, facing Uoleva, is the burial place of holders of the Matauvave title, the latest one interred being the mother's brother of the incumbent of 1920. This mound is said to have originated from the clay thrown ashore by people washing their heads in the sea after building pigeon mounds. The clay used occurs as a subsoil in Uoleva.

The first Matauvave is reputed to have built the fortress Velata, Lifuka Island. All Haapai furnished laborers for this work.

One Matauvave came and stayed in a place called Tokilangi, which stands in Fanganoni in Pangai, Lifuka. His daughter went to Uoleva and she slipped from the ford (*ahanga*) and hurt herself. That is why the place is called Kofokolaangatomatoma. All the people were then told to make a road connecting the two islands at low tide and it was called Taaemaka. There were two roads made.

The first Matauvave who was taken to be governor of Haapai died there. He was buried on the seashore at Nuanga, Lifuka Island. His god was Aloalo. Tama-tuiumee was the name of his *api* or tract of land.

Another man was appointed (Taufa Tofua) to dwell in Tofua Island and at the same time the warrior Havili was appointed to stay in Lofanga Island.

## Gifford—Tongan Society

75

The Tui Tonga greeted the great *fahu* (the Tamaha) by placing her foot on his head or by touching his nose to her foot. In the presence of any of his *fahu* he must abstain from eating (65, p. li). He greeted the *kaingaofi* with the nose kiss. The *matapule* kissed his foot. The *kainanga-fonua* suffered the Tui Tonga's foot to rest on their head. This was supposed to cure those of this class who were sick. The *tamaioeiki* were too low to touch the Tui Tonga. If sick, they might be cured by having the abdomen of the afflicted one rubbed with the bowl in which the Tui Tonga washed his hands.

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## CEREMONIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE TUI TONGA

That the Tui Tonga was regarded as a true god by his subjects seems doubtful. That he was regarded as of semi-divine nature is certain, for the Tongan belief is that he was of semi-celestial origin, the progenitor of his line being the sky god Tangaloa Eitumatupua. That he was a god living upon earth all of my informants denied. Collocott, however, records (16, p. 79) a lament or funeral piece for a deceased Tui Tonga, in which he is called a god.

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My informants knew of no worship of the Tui Tonga after death, but only of worship of the gods proper. The priest Kautai scoffed at the idea of the Tui Tonga being either a priest or a god. He characterized him as the highest male chief and hence the most sacred male of the country.

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Wilson (66), however, states that on occasion, certain deities were represented by certain chiefs; although the Tui Tonga is not specifically mentioned, he may be referred to in connection with either the deity Pulotu Katooa or the deity Fatafehi (whom I have failed to identify). The deity Taliai Tupou was connected with the Tui Kanokupolu. Wilson's statement follows (op. cit., pp. 276, 277):

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Every district has its own deity; and each family of note has one, whom they consider as their peculiar patron. Talliataboo [Taliai Tupou] is the god of Aheefo [Hihifo], which being at present the most powerful, he is accounted a great warrior. Futtafaihe [Fatafehi] presides over Mooa [Mua] and Doobludha [Pulotu], Cartow [Katoa] over the district of Ahoge [Hahake]; each of which deities are on certain occasions represented by the several chiefs of those districts.

Mariner (41, vol. 2, pp. 78, 79) states that high respect and veneration for the Tui Tonga were shown by the following observances: (a) *inasi* ceremony: offering to him of first fruits, about October; (b) peculiarity of his marriage ceremony; (c) peculiarity of his burial ceremony; (d) peculiarity of mourning for his decease; (e) non-circumcision, unless he went to other islands for the operation; (f) not tattooed; (g) peculiarities of speech, used in regard to the Tui Tonga.

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At Lapaha was a priestess named (or entitled) Poula whom the Tui<sup>643</sup> Tonga consulted. She resided at the site now occupied by the dwelling<sup>793</sup> house of the Catholic priests. For what god she officiated, I could not learn. She was no doubt the medium through which the Tui Tonga communicated<sup>[796]</sup> with a patron deity, quite possibly Hikuleo.

The Tui Tonga appealed to the gods when he was ill, just like any<sup>643</sup> other chief. Mariner (40, vol. 1, p. 453) gives an account of the illness<sup>776</sup> of Fuanunuiava.<sup>755</sup>

By far the most important ceremony in which the Tui Tonga functioned<sup>643</sup> was the great annual *inasi* or offering of first fruits to the gods. The word<sup>782</sup> *inasi*, meaning to divide, to share, to apportion, is applied especially to food,<sup>[527]</sup> and in the great *inasi* ceremony food and models of yams were brought as offerings. Although the food was brought to the Tui Tonga and the ceremony impossible without him, the appeal came from the people to the gods, the Tui Tonga evidently acting as intermediary. Or perhaps it is more correct to say that the Tui Tonga, being the most exalted of males, was needed in person at the ceremony in order to insure the favor of the gods. It is unfortunate that no further data on the *inasi* could be obtained in 1920 and 1921. However, the accounts of early voyagers refer to this ceremony.

Farmer (23, p. 129) says definitely, upon the authority of the Methodist missionary Thomas, that Hikuleo was the deity for whom the *inasi* was performed.<sup>[796]</sup>

Perhaps the great *inasi* included offerings to the royal dead as well as to<sup>[769]</sup> Hikuleo, the ruler of the realm of the dead, for seventeen royal tombs in Tongatabu received shares (*inasi*) of offerings during ceremonies at the sanctuary Fanakava in Lapaha, Tongatabu: Fangaloto, Folokomanu, Mata-moana, Makamaka, Heketa, Moungalafa, Leka, Tofaua, Tauatonga, Taetaea, Tauhakeleva, Mau, Katoa, Paepae o Telea, Namoala, Tuofefafa, Tuoteau.

Misui Mafileo, an aged informant, described to me a *kotoni* ceremony<sup>643</sup> (or perhaps entertainment) which he witnessed in Lapaha in his youth and<sup>796</sup> at which the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga and a matapule named Toamalanga<sup>527</sup> presided. Laufilitonga and Toamalanga formed the *mua* (focus, center, or head) of the ceremony. Laufilitonga was seated under a *koka* tree against which he leaned. Toamalanga sat beside him. The green (*malac*) of Feinga-kotone was the scene of the performance. Toamalanga's family wore oiled white tapa (*vakai*) in enormous folds around the waist.

Many people ("all the people in Tonga") were present. There were<sup>643</sup> six or seven groups of warriors armed with clubs made from coconut fronds<sup>796</sup> dried two days in the sun. The club bearers formed two lines of thirty to<sup>526</sup> forty men each. On one side were men from Niuafoou, Niuatoputapu, Samoa,<sup>527</sup> Vavau, Haapai, Eua, Fuaamotu in Tongatabu, and all the Hahake District

When a Tamaha was to be appointed, the Tui Kanokupolu came and prepared an oven of food and himself carried it to the Tui Haa Takalaua. Together they carried the food to the Tui Tonga, probably in the fictitious fashion described by Collocott (15, p. 43). The three chiefs then went to the prospective Tamaha. Meanwhile all of the chiefs of the kingdom had assembled at the call of the Tui Haa Takalaua. The agreement was reached beforehand between the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa Takalaua as to who was to be the new Tamaha, although birth had largely preordained this. As with every other bestowal of title in Tonga, the calling of the Tamaha's new title in the kava circle constituted inauguration in office. Informants were of the opinion that the Tamaha was appointed at maturity. [644, 643, 622, 574]

The derivation of the word *tamaha* was given by one informant as *tama* (child), *ha* (to appear); by another as *tama* (child), *ha* (above, in the sense of rank), by another as *tama* (child), *ha* (sacred, cf. Samoan *sa*). The Tamaha was not regarded as the incarnation of a divinity. [192, 776]

In travelling, the Tamaha was usually carried in a palanquin; sometimes she walked. When she passed, people seated themselves with folded hands and bowed head. Her uncle, the male Tui Tonga, brought his offerings and sat down before her with all humility. Sick people came to her for cure (23, p. 145). [644, 493, 491, 576, 643, 755]

One of the chief residences of the Tamaha was the island of Tungua, Haapai. It is one of the seats of the Tui Haa Teiho. When boats passed in front of the Tamaha's house which was near the beach, the paddlers got overboard and swam with the boat until beyond the dwelling. This custom is analogous to the modern one of dismounting from a horse when passing the Queen's residence. [576]

A series of special words used for the Tamaha, the Female Tui Tonga, and the male Tui Tonga are on page 119. [128]

### THE TUI HAA TAKALAU

The great chiefly houses of the Tui Haa Takalaua and the Tui Kanokupolu are nothing more than collateral branches of the dynasty of Tui Tonga which began with Ahoeitu. The first Tui Haa Takalaua was a younger brother of a Tui Tonga and the first Tui Kanokupolu was a younger brother of a Tui Haa Takalaua. Hence the stress which so many writers lay upon the spiritual and the temporal lines of rulers in Tonga should be understood to refer to difference of function and degree of chiefiness and sanctity only, not difference of origin, for both lines claim the same semi-divine ancestor, Ahoeitu. Besides this community of origin, the three great chiefly houses of Tonga were thoroughly linked by marriage. [613, 643, 581]

The office of Tui Haa Takalaua is reputed to have been founded by the

- Apeapa.** The alofi (the place occupied by chiefs in a kava party) of the Tui Tonga's kava party. A mark of respect and attention to the conversation of the Tui Tonga.
- Fi koau.** The affirmative, spoken in answer to the call or command of the Tui Tonga.
- Fakahake.** To vomit (Tui Tonga).
- Fakalaa.** Chief woman making coconut oil in the sun. The same operation by a common woman is called *tanakileto*.
- Fakamso.** The tapa belt of the Tui Tonga.
- Fakanofa.** Coronation.
- Fakataulolefoia.** To address the King; chief language.
- Faleale.** The family or children of the Tui Tonga and Tamaha.
- Felapalapasi.** Chiefs to kill each other secretly.
- Finatamafa.** The hunger of the Tui Tonga.
- Finangalo.** The mind, applied to the Tui Tonga, nowadays to the King and the Deity.
- Folefoia.** Word, speech, addressed only to the Tui Tonga or the Deity, and nowadays to the King; not applicable to private persons or even chiefs.
- Feloha.** The hair of the Tui Tonga.
- Haele.** To appear, applied to the gods, the Tui Tonga, and the King.
- Hala.** Demise, applied to the Tui Tonga and Tamaha, also to the King; a sacred club.
- Hau.** The attendants (*takanga*) of the Tui Tonga; a conqueror, a reigning prince; the "tribe" of the King, as *faahinga* as Hau.
- Hohaa.** The beard of chiefs.
- Huafa.** Name, applied only to gods, king, chiefs.
- Lakoifia.** Well in health, used to (or of) the Tui Tonga, the Tui Pelehake, and the King.
- Lakoifua.** Well in health, used of the Tui Tonga, now used of the King.
- Langi.** The head or face of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha; his burying place.
- Osikanga.** Finished being seasick (a term used of chiefs).
- Oua e takavale ai finangalo.** A formal remonstrance to the Tui Tonga against the many tasks he has set for one to do in a single day, or in a too short period of time. Only the highest ranking *matapule* could use this remonstrance.
- Puluhi.** Sickness of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha.
- Puluhia.** Death of the Tui Tonga.
- Pupuluhi.** Slightly afflicted, applied to the Tui Tonga.
- Sinifu.** The collective name of the women of the harem of the Tui Tonga.
- Taahine.** Daughter of the Tui Tonga (daughter of other chiefs called *feine*; daughter of lower orders called *finemotua*).
- Tamasii.** The son of the Tui Tonga.
- Taumafa.** To eat, applied to the Tui Tonga, but now used to high chiefs.
- Tulaki.** To cut the hair of the Tui Tonga.
- Uluvail.** The name of a person killed at the burial of the Tui Tonga.
- Umeumesi.** For the Tui Tonga to strike or whip his small sons.
- Uta.** Inland, land, on shore; the cargo or freight of a vessel; applied to the Tui Tonga and persons of his rank.
- Vaavaakaka.** Poorly, not well (the Tamaha).

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#### CHIEFS

All of the modern chiefs of Tonga trace their relationship ultimately to the first Tui Tonga, the son of Tangaloa Eitumatupua, the sky god. More immediately many trace their relationship to the Tui Kanokupolu, but as

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## THE CHIEFS OF LOFANGA ISLAND, HAAPAI

The earliest chiefly title in Lofanga, so far as I could learn, was that of <sup>622</sup> Sinilau, a name which is still bestowed. There later arose to power a chief <sup>173</sup> named Fanua Lofanga who belonged to the family of Loau, the Tui Haamea, and who is said to have gone to Lofanga to live and to have eclipsed Sinilau in importance. This title also has a modern holder in Lofanga.

The fortunes of these two chiefs did not remain stable for it is said that Sinilau received the whole island of Lofanga as an inheritance (*tofia*) from the Tui Tonga and that Fanua Lofanga never had much land, only a single tract (*api*). Although Fanua Lofanga became politically the more important chief, probably because of his connection with the Tui Haa Takalaua in Tongatabu, the island continued to be called the property of Sinilau. Today the land is claimed by the Tongan Government. It is said that Sinilau's holdings are still large and Fanua Lofanga's small.

The origin of the Sinilau chieftainship is unknown. The name is that of one of the Polynesian gods, and, like that god, the holders of the Sinilau chieftainship are reputed to have been handsome. <sup>[76]</sup>

One Sinilau is reputed to have stolen the daughter of the chief Niukapu of Fangaleounga, Foa Island, on the eve of her marriage to Tungimanaia. She bore him two daughters, Nanasi, and Kafaotu. They both married the chief Malupo of Uihā, the elder sister Nanasi as the *fokonofa* of her younger sister.

## TITLES OF CHIEFS

I present below certain of the chiefly titles together with data as to origin and incumbents. (See also p. 130.) King George I created the modern title *nobeli* (noble) as designation for those chiefs who retain their hereditary lands (*tofia*). See figure 1. <sup>A</sup>

Ahio, highest chief of the Haa Ngata Motua and recipient of the largest share at feasts. Seat at Kolovai, Tongatabu. At the death of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata, Ahio was in Eua. He declined to become Tui Kanokupolu, saying, "Make one of my younger brothers Tui Kanokupolu." He is comparable to the Tui Tonga in serving chiefness and passing temporal troubles to another. He has no *matapule* but on occasion borrows one. The first Ahio was the son of Vakalepu (the son of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata and Hifo, daughter of Ahomee). J. Vehikite Ahio was chief in 1862. <sup>622</sup>  
<sup>554</sup>  
<sup>173</sup>  
<sup>551</sup>  
<sup>554</sup>  
<sup>613</sup>

Ahomee, a chief of the Haa Ngata Motua, seat at Haa Vakatolo, Tongatabu. Title antedates that of Tui Kanokupolu as the first Tui Kanokupolu married daughters of Ahomee. An Ahomee named Otukolo succeeded his father, Daniel Ahomee, who died Sept. 21, 1896.

Ata, leader of the Haa Ngata Motua, seat at Kolovai, Tongatabu. The title was borne in turn by Kaumavae, son of first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata; Atafakahau, son of Kaumavae; Puakahuhua, son of Atafakahau; the Ata murdered at Houma, son of Puakahuhua; Fisihoi, son of Puakahuhua; Tofuaipangai, son's (Ngata) son of Atafakahau; Tautalanoa, son of Tofuaipangai; Ula, brother's (Masima) son's (Manuopangai) son of Tautalanoa, Ata in 1921.

A. [See category 116, p. 96--Analyst]

the new appointee. This form of ceremonial installation (*fakanofa*) prevailed from the Tui Tonga down to the lowest matapule. When a god became incarnate in a priest, the kava circle was formed with the priest presiding. Matters to be discussed with the king or a high chief were broached at the king's kava circle, which comprised the principal chiefs attendant at his court. Some executions took place within the circle (26, p. 67).

The formal drinking of kava has perhaps its most important social aspect in the visualization of the rank of the participants through the seating and through the order of serving.

With one or two exceptions, no chief might sit in the formal kava circle without an attendant matapule. When the Tui Tonga, Tui Haa Takalaua, or Tui Kanokupolu presided at a kava circle, he was flanked by two matapule. In the formal kava circle only titled persons may sit; the president of such a circle seems always to have been the title-holder of highest rank. With the exception of the Tamaha and perhaps the Female Tui Tonga, who were title holders, women seem not to have presided in kava circles except at marriages.

The formal circle, therefore, comprises the assemblage of the representatives of the ancestors, the first holders of the titles. The first holders of the titles of Tui Tonga, of matapule Lauaki, of Tui Pelehake, and of Tui Loloko, were the putative sons of a god, Tangaloa Eitumatupua; the original holders of all other titles were the offspring of mortals. There seems, however, to have been a certain equating of gods and ancestors, for a priest possessed by a god presided as would the king. Moreover the Tui Kanokupolu is called Taliai Tupou, the name of his patron god. I suspect that the title holders in the kava circle impersonate the ancestral first holders of titles and perhaps are even regarded as their temporary incarnations. (For example, Lauaki is called Maliepo, the name of his ancestor who descended from heaven.) This probability is strengthened by the fact that whenever a chief is accompanied by his matapule, formal conduct is required of him.

The following terms refer to the kava ceremony:

**Alofi.** The kava circle.

**Apaapa.** The alofi or circle of the Tui Tonga's kava party; the masters of ceremonies in a kava party, that is, the matapules who sit on each side of the chief who presides in the kava party; to sit next to the chief in the kava party.

**Faikava.** Literally, to do kava, a kava party.

**Fakamatua.** A movement from one sitting posture to another. For example, if a group of men in a kava circle are sitting tailor fashion (*fakataane*) so close together that their knees are touching, and others come to join them, the president may say "Fakamatua", at which every one turns to the right obliquely, thus making room for the new arrivals.

Kanokupolu, or perhaps Tui Haa Takalaua, developed his own kava circle (fig. 1) as a secondary ceremony to that of the Tui Tonga. Along with it there arose minor differences of procedure. The two separate courts which thus developed were called metaphorically Kauhalaute (Inland-side-of-the-road), referring to the Tui Tonga; and Kauhalaute (Shore-side-of-the-road), referring to the Tui Kanokupolu, and traditionally to the earlier Tui Haa Takalaua. The Tui Tonga's type of kava procedure seems to have given way everywhere to that of the Tui Kanokupolu, except on the island of Fotuaha, where according to the informant Moungatonga, the Kauhalaute procedure is still followed.

In a formal kava circle in which the Tui Tonga presided, he received the second cup of the beverage, the first going to one of his matapules. The cup was carried to him in silence, his title not being called. In a formal kava circle in which the Tui Kanokupolu presides, the third cup is his. It is announced as "Ave ia maa Taliai Tupou" (Take it to Taliai Tupou). As Taliai Tupou is the name of the patron god of the Tui Kanokupolu, it would appear that the king impersonates the god. Anciently the Tongans poured out kava as an offering to the gods, as is done in Samoa to-day as an offering to the Deity. The kava drinking was the occasion for making welfare prayers.

In the accounts of the Kauhalaute procedure which follow no deity is mentioned. They appear to date from the time of the Tui Tonga, as reference to the Mohefo (the Tui Tonga's wife) indicates. The following translations are from a manuscript by the late Malupo, a matapule to the Tui Tonga.

If it is the illness of the Tui Tonga, or the sickness of a chief, and the country is in trouble, then these words shall be used, in mixing the kava: "The kava is diluted."

The person who is directing the serving says, "Diluted with a blessing."

Then the mixer repeats: "The kava is diluted."

The real significance is a prayer for a blessing by the means of the kava, because of the sickness of the Tui Tonga, or the illness of a chief, or any difficulty the land may be in. It is not right for any ordinary person to invoke the blessing. Only a chief, or a matapule who is a clever speaker, may do it; and it is not done at random; but only when the kava is diluted. At that moment he speaks.

The kava ceremony is performed also when preparing for war, or during war, or for a voyage, or for work that is to be done. In addition to performing a kava ceremony when the Mohefo expects to be confined, a prayer (*lotui*) is said that the child may be a son, and many prayers are offered by the people.

This prayer may also be uttered:

There is a mound at Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, known to be the place 846  
of burial of the umbilical cord of a woman of rank, named Mafitoutai.

Nothing was learned of any special attitude towards twins (*mahanga*), 845  
except that they were thought desirable.

An attempt is made to flatten the nose of the infant by pressure fre- 856  
quently applied with the fingers. Large calves and small ankles, which  
are regarded as a mark of beauty, are sought to be developed by frequent  
massaging of the flesh of the child from the ankle upward and from the  
knee downward.

#### GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

A lock of hair over one temple (called *fangafanga*) was worn by young 302  
girls until virginity was lost. Thereafter the hair was cut short (shaved, 852  
one informant said) from the forehead straight back to the neck. This 836  
was done as soon as the loss of virginity became known, and whether the 884  
loss was due to marriage or illicit relations. The daughter of a great chief [622]  
might wear all her hair of her head at full length until her marriage, but [565]  
not thereafter. The term *fakahaalavaka* was used to designate the par-  
ticular style in which a chiefly girl of the Haa Havea wore her hair as a  
sign of virginity. Baker (2) uses this term as the designation of long  
hair worn as a sign of virginity by any girl.

Chiefly families still observe the ancient ceremonies connected with the 881  
incipiency of womanhood. These observances were formerly general. When [565]  
the first period of a daughter of a great chief arrives, her mother is notified  
and then her father informed. The mother will say to him: "Our daughter  
has commenced to menstruate today." The girl is then forbidden to bathe 881  
during this first period, because of the belief that it would stop the flow. 841  
She is painted all over with turmeric by her mother on the first day and [515]  
then put to bed, as though she were sick, to remain for the rest of the [302]  
period. While she is lying in bed a big feast is held, given by her father, [574]  
but supervised by the father's sister. Gifts are distributed by the mother. [431]  
When the flow ceases, the girl bathes. She is accompanied by an old [515]  
female attendant. She and the old woman chew *tuitui* (candlenut), *langa-* [824]  
*kali* flowers, *nukonuka* flowers, and *pako* grass root, or other sweet-smelling  
plants. These masticated plants are rubbed over the body before bathing [302]  
and the candlenut is used as soap.

No deity had charge of the girl during her period. Girls were not [776]  
married before first menstruation. [582]

The first period of the daughter of the Tui Tonga was marked by the 643  
following observances. The girl was painted with turmeric, she was for- 881  
bidden to bathe, and she slept on and under black tapa to hide the blood [515]

## [Toku, Fonualei, and Kao Islands]

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soil. The population of Fonualei became so large and permanent that a church was erected there. The maximum figures for the two islands were one hundred souls on each in the time of the chief Abraham Tangaloa. However, the fertile land of Fonualei became a desert waste with the volcanic eruption of 1846. The people removed to Toku in time to avoid loss of life. Later the entire Toku population was moved to the Vavau group proper by the missionaries, for convenience in church attendance. Their descendants seem to reside principally at Utulei, Pangaimotu Island.

The Toku people were political exiles from Haamea in the central district of Tongatabu. The people of Haamea fought the Hihifo people during the reign of the Tui Kanokupolu Mataletuapiko and were overcome. They fled to Toku under the leadership of the Haamea chiefs Tukutukuholopangai, Ofakehokomaikaetau, and a third chief. Talafaiva, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua and (later?) wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I (Telea) was with them. The refugees were all of the Haa Takalaua and it seems likely that the struggle between Haamea and Hihifo was but a part of the Tui Kanokupolu's effort to eclipse the Tui Haa Takalaua. It is said that people from Makave in Vavau went to Toku to help the chiefs from Haamea. When the Haamea refugees arrived at Toku they found Niuatoputapu people in possession. These were ordered to leave and did so peaceably. This settlement of people from Haamea must have occurred in the seventeenth century if the references to Mataletuapiko and Talafaiva are correct.

The son of one of the refugee chiefs from Haamea became the ruler of the Toku people under the title of Tangaloa. The last Tangaloa was Abraham Tangaloa of Utulei, Pangaimotu Island. The Tui Kanokupolu appointed the Tangaloa. The second Tangaloa bore the personal name of Katinatoa.

The god of the Toku people was incarnate in the *tukuhali* or sea snake. I could not learn the name of the god or the title of the priest. incarnation of the god fell into a well. The well was in consequence filled and a new one dug for use.

Tradition names the top of Kao Island, Haapai, as the site of a village, a statement which is pure fiction, as I learned by climbing to the summit, 3380 feet above sea level. A woman there one day said she was going for a walk. She intended to visit one of the coral islands which seemed to lie so close below that one could step over to it. She threw down her bundle of mats, then followed it, and was dashed to pieces on the rocks below. This tale is evidently told to illustrate the extreme steepness of Kao.

The ancient settlement on Kao was near the shore, not at the summit. The shore settlement was probably on the northwestern side, nearest Tofua.



[Ata Island]

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- 98-99: Man to father's mother's brother's son's daughter.  
 102-103: Man to father's mother's brother's son's daughter.  
 104-105: Man to mother's father's paternal half brother's daughter.  
 109-110: Man to mother's paternal half sister's son's daughter's daughter.  
 125-127: Man to father's sister's daughter.  
 134-135: Man to mother's brother's daughter.  
 165-166: Man to father's mother's sister's daughter's daughter.

In addition to the following marriages of blood relatives which the genealogy shows, there is one case of a man (14) marrying his stepmother (7) and one case of a man (13) marrying two sisters (12 and 16). Of the twenty-six marriages of relatives nine are of cross-cousins. Seven of the cross-cousin marriages are of a man to his father's sister's daughter, two to his mother's brother's daughter. There is one example of parallel cousin marriage (70-71).

The institution of the *vasu* evidently held with as much force in Ata as in Tonga proper, for informants said that of the two persons, Laufilitonga (mentioned above) and his sister Takumua, that Takumua was superior in rank and that her children were superior to those of her brother Laufilitonga. In fact, Laufilitonga's children had continually to go into the bush and secure food for the children of Takumua. Even to-day the descendants of Takumua rank higher than the descendants of Laufilitonga.

There were three gods recognized on Ata, two of them apparently from early times, one of them from about the middle of the nineteenth century. Faikavakisia, a male deity, had a sanctuary in the eastern part of the village of Kolomaila. The priest of the god is said to have borne the same name. Tui Tofua, presumably the well known Haapai god, had a sanctuary in the southern part of the town of Kolomaila. His priest was also known by the name of Tui Tofua. It seems likely that the introduction of the worship of this god may be attributed to Tameifuna, the Haapai colonist. From the present holder of the title of Leha, carpenter to the Tui Tonga, I obtained the following account of the arrival of the third god, Moalaleki, in Ata.

Moalaleki was the god of the village and fortress of Pea, Tongatabu. In the year 1852 the god became angry because the cup of kava of a warrior named Sialevaila was given to another warrior. Thereupon, the god deserted Pea and went at once to Ata, taking with him a root (*ulo*) of kava. With the departure of the god from Pea, misfortune fell upon the town, for that very day the Tui Kanokupolu George laid siege to it with his Methodist army.

When the god arrived in Ata he found the chiefs assembled inside a house wishing that they had kava to drink (kava was already grown in the island). Suddenly the god dropped the kava root from the roof of the house to the floor. Thereupon the chiefs said to one another, "We wish we had more kava. This is only a small quantity; too small to make a drink for us all." Then the god said from above, "It is small, but it is strong (*latea*)," expressing the idea in poetry as follows:

Oko sili pe ka oe latea  
 Koe kava na'e o Pea  
 Koe ha'u mei pe kolo tautea

It is small but it is strong  
 The kava was formerly of Pea  
 It has come from the punished town.

[539]



[Ata and Niuatoputapu Islands]

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So the kava root was chewed and squeezed and eaten, and the people drank it, then all lay down drunk. After the first infusion of the kava the strainings were divided and each house was given a share so that each house had a drink. On this occasion it was Mu'a, the mother of Julia Ukulolo, who did the chewing and who after the bowl was brought squeezed and strained the kava. Julia Ukulolo was an informant interviewed in 1921. 184 776

The population of Ata had its maximum with about two hundred individuals, one hundred of which were children according to modern informants. In fact at the time of removal to Eua it was said that there were one hundred school children. 162

About 1860 a serious disaster overtook the islanders. The following account of what happened was obtained from Tupouata who was at the time twelve or thirteen years old. Another informant, Julia Ukulolo, was eight or nine years old and was in school at the time that the disaster befell. The disaster was in the form of kidnapping by a Peruvian ship. Julia's older brother was taken away by this raider. Tupouata also laid the trouble to the treachery of a Tongan named Paul Vehi, who had been educated in Sydney during a sojourn of two years and who claimed to have been appointed mayor of Ata by King George I. The Ata people were already Christians when the raid occurred. 648

When the Peruvian raider appeared she was black with white doors painted upon her sides to make her look like a man-of-war. Vehi went aboard and presumably arranged the kidnapping. When he returned ashore, he made a proclamation that each family was to send a good-looking man aboard with provisions to sell. There was to be no selling on shore, and furthermore the selling on the ships was to take place below decks. Once the Ata people were aboard they were sent to various rooms to select the goods they wanted in exchange. After entering the rooms the doors were locked. Just how many were kidnapped I could not learn. Eight men who were waiting in boats beside the ship escaped, for one of them perceived what had happened. They were however pursued by the ship's boat.

When King George I heard about the raid he sent the three schooners Sialeataongo, Elenoa, and Tupou to bring the people away from Ata, lest more of them be kidnapped. The schooners sailed to Eua, but were unable to land the people on account of the heavy sea. They were therefore taken to Nukualofa and lodged temporarily at Pangai, the site of the present wireless station. Large quantities of food were furnished the refugees by the king. Later they were transported to Eua where they and their descendants now live. 166

NIUATOPUTAPU ISLAND

Niuatoputapu (Niu Doubly Prohibited) is one of the two northern outlying groups of the modern Tongan kingdom, the other being Niuafuoo or New Niu. Niuatoputapu perhaps derives its name from the privilege 131 103

## [Niuatoputapu Island]

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accorded its inhabitants by the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I, that they should push away the boats of the Tongans, and not let them land. In Nukualofa, at the time of my sojourn there, resided Maatu, the hereditary ruler of Niuatoputapu and virtually king thereof. An opportunity was therefore afforded of obtaining some information concerning that group.

Niuatoputapu was discovered on May 10, 1616, by the Dutch explorers Schouten and Lemaire. It thus constitutes the earliest discovered portion of the Tongan Archipelago. Basil Thomson (54, pp. 398, 399) gives an account of the visit of Schouten and Lemaire. Wallis visited Niuatoputapu on August 13, 1767. Nails, which he left there, were later found in the possession of the Tui Tonga Pau by Captain Cook a few years later.

Niuatoputapu group comprises two islands, Niuatoputapu or Keppel which rises to an altitude of 350 feet, and the volcanic cone of Tafahi or Boscawen which is two thousand feet high. These islands are located in latitude 16° south.

The Maatu whom I interviewed claimed to be the tenth ruler of the line, the first ruler bearing the title of Latu, the title which Schouten and Lemaire give for the ruler of Niuatoputapu. The following is the king list as given by the Maatu of 1921.

1. Latumailangi (chief from heaven) or Puakatefisi (pig from Fisi, a place on Tafahi Island). Pigs seem to be especially associated with Tafahi Island from which Puakatefisi came, for the people of the neighboring Niuatoputapu say of Tafahi, when the clouds are around its summit, that the gods must be cooking pigs, for there is the smoke.

2. Puakailakelo, son of 1. His name means "pig with yellow spots." It was he who is said to have changed the title from Latu to Maatu. The traditional reason for the change is as follows: Lavelua, the ruler of Uvea, came on a visit to Niuatoputapu, bringing with him his shell fishhook. In the dialect of Niuatoputapu such a fish hook is called *pa*. In the Uvean dialect it was called *wtumootu*. Latu fancied the name of the fish hook so the two kings traded fish-hook names. In Uvea such a fish hook was henceforth to be called *pa* and in Niuatoputapu it was to be called *wtumootu*. The ruler of the latter island then adopted the title of Maatu for himself and successors, discarding the older term Latu. In Uvea the old term *wtumootu* for fish hook became *tapu*. The Tamaha's genealogies have the following to say about Puakailakelo and his brother Pungakaitafola:

There were two brothers, Pungakaitafola and Puakailakelo. Pungakaitafola was Maatu, but on account of his sickness (nose trouble) he allowed his younger brother Puakailakelo to take the title, and he became Maatu.

A boat arrived from Niuafouu with two women, who were passengers, by name of Hekuau and Siulolovao; the latter was the child of Valamotu (daughter of Fusitua and Fotofili Alofi). Puakailakelo courted Hekuau, but she refused him as she had already a sweetheart at Niuafouu (Mailelatamai), and Siulolovao then accepted the courtship of Puakailakelo. Before Siulolovao had any children she adopted a little girl named Fataimoamanu as her first child to Puakailakelo. Fataimoamanu was the daughter of Aloknoulu the brother of Siulolovao.

## TONGAN RELIGION

## SOURCE OF INFORMATION

My notes on the ancient religion of Tonga are scant, as might well be expected 75 years after the complete Christianization of the country. The material here presented is in part supplementary to that already published (26). Some of it is amplification of published materials by Collocott and others. [778]

Collocott (9, pp. 152-163, 227-240) has so thoroughly portrayed the characteristics of the principal gods of Tongatabu that there is little left to do except supplement his account with further details. Farmer (23, pp. 125-146) also gives a brief sketch of the principal Tongan gods and of the functions of the priests. Most of Farmer's information was obtained from the Reverend John Thomas, a Methodist missionary. The nature of the gods is well handled by Mariner, Farmer, and Collocott. [115]

## PULOTU

Pulotu, the unseen world, and domain of the god or goddess Hikuleo (23, p. 132), was believed to lie to the westward and to be reached by sea. A number of stories are told of voyages (26, p. 153) to Pulotu. There seems to be a certain tendency among modern Tongans to identify Pulotu with the underworld, Lolofonua. Pulotu is also identified by some modern informants with the cemetery or graveyard. Anciently, it was thought that a living man might visit Pulotu to recover a dead wife (26, p. 183), and that Hikuleo would assemble the spirits so that the wife might be selected, also that Hikuleo would then re-animate the visitor, so that he might return to the earth. [772]

Among modern Tongans who regard Pulotu as equivalent to the underworld, two entrances are pointed out. One of them consists of a deep hole on the island of Koloa, Vavau, a hole which mythology says was the opening by which fire was brought from the underworld to this world by Maui Kisikisi. The second opening to Pulotu, in its modern identification with the underworld, is through the volcano in the island of Tofua. People who formerly lived on Tofua report that whenever someone died in the Haapai Islands, crying or singing would be heard at the volcano. If crying is heard to-day it is interpreted to mean a dead sinner; if singing, a good Christian on his way to Pulotu. There are three divisions of Pulotu called Tete, Pulotu Akaaka, and Pulotu Tuumau. The following quotation is from Watkin (61): [775]

They have some idea of the future existence of the soul, but it is obscure indeed. There exist notions among them which savour something of the Hindoo notion of successive births in the future world, two deaths awaiting them after that endured in this world when they are freed from further mutation. The heaven they calculate [772]

upon is upon the plan of Mahommed's very brothel. Pulotu Tete, Pulotu Akaaka, 775  
and Pulotu Tuumau are the names of the Tonguese three heavens. 772

Vaiola (The-water-of-life) is believed to be in Pulotu. The following 775  
brief note, translated by Beatrice Shively Baker from a manuscript written 772  
in Tongan by Rachel Tonga, refers to it: 823

It is said in the traditions that there is a country in which there is a fountain called Vaiola and the nature of this water is healing. If a sick person washes in it, he comes up healed. If a leper bathes in it he will be clean; if an old man he becomes young, the blind see, those afflicted with elephantiasis become well, the deaf hear, the dumb speak. People afflicted with any sickness need only plunge into the water to become well. Anciently the people longed night and day to do so, but it was not known where the water was situated. Some said it was at Pulotu, the residence of the gods, and some said that it was at the lower Fiji islands.

## DEITIES

The gods seem to have been considered as formless spirits (19, vol. 1, 776  
p. 405) who might become incarnate in any shape they desired. Thus, the 776  
god Taufu might become incarnate in his priest Kautae, in a shark, or in a 825  
gecko (*moko*). Similarly, the deity Fehuluni might appear either as a man  
or as a woman; and the goddesses Sisi and Faingaa might appear either as  
herons or as women. As a matter of fact the forms in which gods did 776  
appear seem to be strictly limited in number.

The term *fakamalanga* is applied to the god of one's mother, supposed to be kind in nature. The term also means intercessor. The word *ka* means to treat the gods with contempt.

Belief in the gods is by no means dead today in Tonga. Good Christians 795  
occasionally see, or are afflicted by, the ancient deities. Even myths con- 776  
cerning the ancient gods are still in process of creation. For instance, in [778]  
Lapaha is a cylindrical stone called Levulevukefu, which in Christian times  
has been moved from its original position in the center of the Tui Tonga's  
gateway to its present position on the west side of the main north and south  
street of Lapaha. The fact of its removal is known, yet a story is current  
that it was thrown from Eua Island to its present position by Maui.

Near Maufanga, Tongatabu, is a cave called Anapusi (Cat-cave), because 825  
some miraculous owls living there are said to have the power of assuming  
the form of cats at will. This, no doubt, is an idea that does not antedate  
the introduction of cats.

The mound called Tangata Haamea, built at Feletoa, Vavau, by the present 776  
Ulukalala for his son Tangata Haamea, who in 1921 was a clerk in the 778  
premier's office in Nukualofa, is constructed of stones taken from the platform  
(*paepae*) of an ancient god-house. The stones are supposed, as a result of

their origin, to be haunted by "devils," and the people of the neighborhood avoid passing the mound in the dark. 776  
778

Besides manifesting themselves through priests or priestesses, the gods appeared also in animal form. The animal was called the *vaka* (boat) of the god, and the priest the *taula otua* (anchor of the god). Needless to say, it was forbidden for the worshipper of a god to eat the animal in which the god might become incarnate. The journal of missionary Watkin (61) mentions a person "who was then very ill, because he had eaten the god from which the tribe had sprung and to which they paid divine honors, the *feke* or catfish." 776  
825  
784  
[753]

All of the gods are today called *tevolo*, which is the Tongan rendering of English "devil." Some informants, however, insist that *tevolo* is an old Tongan word, and the late chief Maatu of Niuatoputapu gave an interesting etymology which would appear to be a rationalization. He analyzed *tevolo* as *te* "to bring out," and *volo* "salivary glands," referring to the frothing at the mouth on the part of the inspired priest. The proper ancient term for a god seems to be *otua*. The term *fili* was given by one informant as a synonym, as was also *puloa*. The generic term *faahikehe* denotes gods, spirits, ghosts, and apparently priests. It means literally "different side," or "different kind," referring to the different endowment of the *faahikehe* as compared with normal human beings. Another term for gods was *taulamua*, based on the term *taula* (anchor) which occurs in the word for priest. 776  
196  
[793]  
776  
192

The widespread Polynesian gods, Tu, Tane, and Lono, appear to have been unknown in Tonga. Tangaloa was well known, and existed in several forms, always, however, as a sky god rather than a sea god. There appear to have been no temples or priests dedicated to Tangaloa. His rôle in the creation of solid land and man is well exemplified in Tongan mythology. 776  
[171]  
778  
[793]  
[773]

Although the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha were believed to approach the gods in essence, nevertheless they were human, from the Tongan's standpoint, inasmuch as they prayed to the gods when ill and their relatives sacrificed their little fingers for them. However, even Tangaloa the Lord of Heaven seems to be conceived of as dying, for in one myth the words are put into his mouth: "The funeral of the Tui Tonga shall be as my own funeral" (26, p. 42). On the other hand, the leper Fakailoatonga, who ordered himself buried alive, was deified and worshipped. According to Farmer (23, p. 129), the god of the Tui Tonga was Hikuleo, for whom the Tui Tonga acted as priest or intermediary, the offerings of the great Inasi ceremony being destined for Hikuleo. I could obtain no evidence that the deceased Tui Tonga were worshiped, although offerings were placed at their tombs (p. 76). 643  
[782]  
[64]  
[763]  
[793]  
[643]  
[643]  
[769]

Although I have succeeded in adding a few unrecorded gods to the Tongan pantheon, there are certain deities, notably the goddess Kallafootonga

(Calla Filatonga) and the god Fatafehi (66, pp. 276, 277; 19, vol. 1, p. 403), 776 whom I could not identify. All informants interviewed denied the existence of any deity with the name Fatafehi.

## TANGALOA

Tangaloa, the sky god, is regarded in Vavau as being the deity who hauled up the Vavau group, his fish hook catching in what is now the island of Hunga (41, vol. 1, p. 271). The attribution by the Vavau people of this great act to Tangaloa instead of Maui is perhaps due to some special development of Tangaloa worship in Vavau. Tangaloa Tufunga, though said not to be a god of Niuatoputapu, is the patron of carpenters elsewhere in Tonga.

## MAUI

The Maui were characterized by one informant not as gods but as men, and they are believed to appear sometimes as men. In other words, they are really culture heroes who correspond better to the designation of demigod than of god. According to Maatu of Niuatoputapu, Maui is not credited with having benefited that island. He is, however, reputed to have drawn up successively the islands of Ata, north of Tongatabu, and Tongatabu with all of its associated islands, then Lofanga and the other Haapai islands, and lastly the Vavau group (38, p. 113). There are several places in the Tongatabu and Vavau groups which have tales connecting them with the exploits of the Maui. At Toloa, Tongatabu, certain breakers are said to represent the great fowl (*moa*) wounded by Maui, who hurled stones at it, as it flew from Eua. Thus, when a wave approaches the shore and breaks only in part it is said to be the fowl approaching. The part of the wave which is breaking is called the good wing of the bird. The part which does not break is said to be the broken wing of the bird, which has been struck by Maui's missile.

There is a definite localization of tales about Maui in Eua Island and in the Vavau group, seemingly drawing upon two separate sets of tales, which in modern times have been more or less amalgamated. In Eua, Maui Kisikisi and his father and mother are said to have lived at Haatua. At that place there is a large stretch of ground with a deep depression which is called the Matalanga-a-Maui. The tale recounts that the father chided Kisikisi for not working, whereupon the boy in anger seized his great digging stick, plunged it into the ground and worked it back and forth, shaking Eua terribly. His father ordered him to desist lest he upset the island, and Kisikisi expostulated at the unequal treatment he received, one time hearing complaint because he did no work, and then hearing further complaint as soon as he started to make a garden. In exasperation he cast his digging stick over the cliff Le-



lenga, so that it fell into the sea. The place where it slid over the edge of the cliff is marked by a deep groove, through which soil and stone have slid into the sea. (See also 16, p. 8.)

At Matalanga in Utungake, Vavau, are a series of perpendicular holes or caves in the coral bedrock, which are said likewise to have been made by Maui thrusting in his digging stick. In the sea close by are two very smooth rocks, called Niumano and Moso, the larger being not more than 30 feet in diameter, said to be transformed sons of Maui. A plant *tepilo a Maui* (wind of Maui), common in Tonga, is associated with Maui. The plant, when in flower, smells like human excrement and is said to have acquired this characteristic because a branch of it was used by Maui as a wiper.

On the part of the weather shore of Uiha called Likutapu (so called because a Tui Tonga is said to be buried there, in a small langi) is a hollow stone called the kava bowl of Maui.

#### HIKULEO

Hikuleo, the great deity of Pulotu, whom Farmer (23, p. 132) connects with the Tui Tonga, is believed to manifest himself often at the present time. Thus, if fishermen return without a catch, it is a sign that Hikuleo has been at work with his great net, and that therefore no fish will enter the nets of mortals. Then the fishermen flee in fear. The particular locality where this is believed to occur is the inland waters of such lagoons as that of Tongatabu. Mamea, the Mother Superior of the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, contributed this information about Hikuleo's fishing. She stated, also, that there died about 1905 an old woman of Maufanga who claimed that she was frequently transported to the smaller outer islands by a god and then subsequently brought back. I do not know if this god was Hikuleo.

I was unable to settle the matter of the sex of Hikuleo in her (or his) role of deity of Pulotu, some informants made the deity masculine, others feminine (26). It is not improbable that, like Fehuluni, Hikuleo was bisexual. Caillot (7, p. 243) regards Hikuleo as a male deity, as do most other writers.

At the site of the present town of Haano, Haapai, there once stood a temple of Hikuleo. The temple was called Falemec. It was located on a tract called Fanakava. The priest of the goddess was named Manakoto, and her sacred animal was the sea snake (*tukuhali*). This temple was a famous place of refuge. If a person became sick, his relatives went to Manakoto and cut off little finger joints to make him well. Bodies of executed persons were taken to Manakoto. If Manakoto were angry a human sacrifice might be made to him, the sight of which made him happy. The following anecdote is told:

The following anecdote is told:

Kavaanuku was the name of the Foa Island chief who had soldiers for war. The soldiers from Tonga came to Foa and fought with Kavaanuku's soldiers. They fought and Kavaanuku's soldiers ran to Manakoto's place. They were whipped and feared the Tongan soldiers. The soldiers from Tonga tied with rope a man and took him to Manakoto and Kavaanuku, before whom they strangled him. Then Kavaanuku, likewise strangled a man as an offering to the goddess. Thereupon the soldiers from Tonga strangled two Tongan men and took them to Manakoto, because they wanted Hikuleo's permission to enter her sanctuary and to destroy Kavaanuku's soldiers. Permission was gained when the Tongans sacrificed the two men to the goddess. The sacrificed men were left on the ground to rot outside of the goddess' house. Then the Tongan soldiers attacked and killed all of Kavaanuku's men. That was the first time anyone had attacked the sanctuary of Fanakava. This happened in the time of the great great grandfather of the present Tui Haa Ngana.

Another account of Hikuleo follows:

Hikuleo had also a shrine in the island of Uiha, Haapai. Her tract of land was called Taao, and her house was built thereon. She was appealed to through the medium of the usual finger sacrifice when there was sickness. People who intended to voyage must inform Hikuleo first, otherwise they would encounter bad winds. People beseeching the aid of the goddess seated themselves outside of the house in which she was believed to be. A man looked after the feeding of the goddess, giving her the food which the people brought. All of the people in Uiha worshipped Hikuleo; other deities were also worshipped. Hikuleo was the patron goddess of the chief Malupo of Uiha. In connection with her worship in Uiha one tapu required everyone to be quiet for a time at noon, forbidding the beating of tapa or making of any noise; another tapu forbade orange juggling at night, under penalty of losing one's eyesight; and another forbade old women to make mats, because they [old women?] smelt badly to the goddess.

#### FEHULUNI

Fehuluni is a widely known Tongan deity who even in Christian times appears as an apparition. The origin of this deity has been related (26, pp. 153-155). My hitherto unpublished information concerning Fehuluni pertains to the Haapai and Vavau groups.

Fehuluni apparently appears always in human form—to a man appearing in feminine form; to a woman, in masculine form. The person whose affection is won by Fehuluni is said to die, often wasting away, and people are said to become unconscious on first seeing her. One informant characterized Fehuluni as a *tupui tevolo*, that is an original god rather than an *ata* (shadow). The island of Nomuka, Haapai, is the particular haunt of the deity, where she had a temple, like an ordinary Tongan house, located on the tract Tuanuku. Three people officiated as priests, a man named Samuel Masivahemolo and his sisters Latu and Fatai, all of whom were inspired at times by Fehuluni becoming incarnate in one of them, the manifestation of the incarnation being trembling. On the occasion of such a divine visitation the inspired servant of the god remained within the temple. The people who prayed to Fehuluni sometimes entered her house, sometimes remained outside.

To Fehuluni are attributed strong sexual desires. If a handsome man<sup>776</sup> attracted the deity he took female form and slept with him, after which the<sup>833</sup> man died. A similar fate overtook any beautiful woman in whom the deity<sup>763</sup> became interested.

The three following tales relate encounters with Fehuluni in female form:<sup>776</sup>

There were two men who went on horseback to Ahau, Nomuka Island. When they reached the big *ororo* tree at Ahau, it was almost sundown. They saw a woman sitting beside the road. They stopped the horses and made them walk slowly. This woman told them to dismount, so they did. They came up to the woman and she asked for tobacco. They had none. She told them they had better go to the village and get her some. They went and got tobacco and kava and returned to her. Just before they got back to her they looked ahead and saw her without a head. She had her head in her hands and was combing the hair. They stood for a while and watched in fear. They beat their horses and flew back to the village. If Fehuluni had known they were so close she would not have frightened them like that. They discovered who she was in time. In two or three days they sickened and died.<sup>773</sup>

One day a man named David Kaufusi went to Ahau, to do some work there. After doing his work he went around to the west side of the island. Suddenly he saw Fehuluni and several other women "devils" sitting on the road, juggling oranges. They looked like Tongan women. He was surprised to see the "devils" and was right amongst them before he realized it. Fehuluni was the prettiest of all. David came to a standstill and she told her woman to bring him to her and they would eat him. "We are very hungry," she said. They laid him down and ate out all his flesh, leaving only skin and bones. After the feast they blew him up with air and left him lying there. On the same day, a priestess at Ahau sent word to the people to go around to the west side of the island and bring David, for her god had informed her of what had happened to him. So the people went and found him lying there. When they went to lift him up, his skin broke. He was dead. So they brought the skin and bones and buried them in the graveyard named Fakahakonoa at Ahau. The people knew what had happened to David, because the priestess told them.

Tanisisi was the "slayer" of Fehuluni about 1890. This was when there were plenty of ducks in the lake of Nomuka. Tanisisi went out one morning to shoot ducks. He shot many. He had the bush tract Haafota, at the southeast point of the island. He shot the ducks on the lagoon and then went back to his tract. He dropped the ducks and went out to the headland, to see if there were any ducks standing on the rocks at the point of the island to warm themselves at sunrise. On the way to the point he saw a woman standing beside a toa tree. He stood for a while, but could not determine who she was, though he knew all in the town. She wore only a short tapa garment, not reaching to her knees, and no other clothes. Her hair hung to her heels. Tanisisi could not identify her, for no Nomuka woman had such long hair. She was looking away from him, facing the sea. It came to Tanisisi's mind that it was Fehuluni. He thought this when he first saw her. So he loaded his gun and fired at her. When he fired she went to nothing. He could find no body. When he came to the spot he found a dead skink (*pili*) with a wound right through its body. Fehuluni has since been seen and hence was not actually killed.

When questioned about sexual connection with Fehuluni, the informant<sup>[833]</sup> said it never really occurs, because the deity is only a shadow which cannot be touched. People upon whom Fehuluni looks are said to go out of their<sup>[158]</sup> minds. That Tanisisi did not go crazy is accounted for by the fact that Fehuluni did not look at him. Fehuluni usually is to be seen near the big tree<sup>776</sup>

at Ahau where *fono* were held, or near the southeastern point of the island. 776  
Taleheu, a tract on the west side of the island, was Fehuluni's home, where  
she lived in a Tahitian chestnut tree.

In the Vavau group, Fehuluni's home is the island of Aa. She has  
living there with her the women who are said to continually juggle the eyes  
of human beings, instead of oranges. Certain of the attributes which she has  
in Nomuka pertain to her also in Vavau, namely, the ability to become either  
a man or a woman, and the ability to remove her head from her shoulders  
when combing her hair. The Vavau informant said that those human beings  
who fell victims to the enticements of this deity died soon and that the deity  
wished it so, that she might have them with her in Pulotu, the unseen world.

What is probably but another manifestation of Fehuluni is a deity named  
Malimeihavao, the bisexual god of Uoleva Island, Haapai. The following  
anecdote concerns him:

A god named Malimeihavao, living in the pigeon mound called Siamaka in the 776  
island of Uoleva had the power of assuming either male or female sex at will and 773  
visiting a human being of the opposite sex, whom he liked. The deity possessed the 781  
mind (*foto*) of the human victim, so that for some time after the divine visitation 828  
the victim was irrational.

Two men, Kaamoto and Pana, from the neighboring island of Lifuka, went hunt-  
ing with a shotgun on Uoleva. They had shot a number of flying foxes and large  
fruit pigeons (*lupe*), when Malimeihavao possessed herself of Kaamoto's mind. As  
soon as she did so, Kaamoto looked like a fool and became completely irrational.  
Pana was carrying the game that had been bagged. He urged Kaamoto to return with  
him to Lifuka, but Kaamoto was deaf to entreaty and proceeded to walk towards  
the center of Uoleva with his gun under his arm. Kaamoto had been completely robbed  
of his sense of direction and for two days and two nights he wandered aimlessly.  
The faithful Pana, realizing that he had lost his mind, followed him, but at last de-  
spaired of his becoming rational.

Now Pana bethought himself of a goddess named Puakamopele, who lived in the  
neighboring island of Tatafa. Puakamopele was a deity with a woman's body and a  
pig's head. She was the ruler of all the gods of Haapai. Pana now left Kaamoto  
in Uoleva and went over to Tatafa to seek the aid of the goddess. He besought her  
to restore his companion to his right mind and to cause him (Kaamoto) to come to  
him. In a little while Pana saw a flame appear near the goddess, which was a sign  
that the prayer was to be answered. Shortly after Kaamoto came out on the beach  
of Uoleva opposite Tatafa and fell down quite exhausted, but rational. He was  
trembling from head to foot and spitting blood. Pana asked him how he became  
foolish and Kaamoto told him that a woman had approached him and stolen his senses.  
Then the two returned to Lifuka. Their pigeons and bats, however, had become  
rotten and were left behind. The two men told the people in Lifuka of their adventures.

As an obscure sequel to this, the priest Ngaohaa, who officiated for both Puaka-776  
mopele and Malimeihavao at their joint house in Holepeka, Lifuka, went to Tatafa 773  
and requested Puakamopele to kill all of the gods of Haapai. This the obliging goddess 793  
did with the exception of Malimeihavao, who entered the owl (*lulu*).

When the priest Ngaohaa wished to consult Malimeihavao in Uoleva, he 776  
went right up to the Siamaka or stone mound in which the deity lived, and in 773  
which Puakamopele also dwelt at times. This mound is said to be of recent 349

origin, having been built a few generations ago, for pigeon catching, by 776  
Matauvave, the matapule of Tui Tonga, who had charge of that sport in 349  
Haapai. There was no house for the deities on this mound.

The informant translated Malimeihavao as "stealing your senses if you 776  
are liked," but an analysis of the word yields: *mali*, to smile or to marry; 196  
*meihe*, from the; *vao*, bush, which is quite in consonance with the attributes  
of the deity. Puakamopele was translated as "pig and stronger," but analyses  
as "pig and favorite, pet, or darling."

The sacred animal of Puakamopele was the gecko called *moko*, that of 776  
Malimeihavao was the owl called *lulu* (*Strix delicatula*). As already stated, 825  
Malimeihavao entered the owl, where he still dwells, through which medium  
he still meddles with the affairs of mortals. If a woman is pregnant but the [787]  
fact is not public knowledge, the owl makes it known by calling near the [843]  
house in which the woman lives. Likewise, if the owl calls near a house and [763]  
then flies to the graveyard, it is a sign that death will soon visit that house.

#### TUI HAA FAKAFANUA

The deity Tui Haa Fakafanua is by Collocott and Tongan informants 776  
identified with Tutumatua of Fiji and with Moso of Samoa. One Tongan  
informant also identified this god with Seketua of Niuatoputapu. It seems  
likely that these identifications, particularly the last, are in the nature of  
rationalizations.

Collocott (9, p. 156) describes the entry of this god into his priest. He [787]  
manifested himself in the gecko, or to use the Tongan metaphor, the gecko [825]  
was the "boat of the god."

Maufanga in Tongatabu and Faleloa in the island of Foa, Haapai, seem 776  
to have been principal seats of this god, although a third sanctuary was 778  
located in Lifuka, Haapai, on the site called Hahaia, now occupied by the  
Catholic church. Collocott's account (op. cit. p. 227) of the god refers  
especially to his manifestations in Tongatabu and to his connection with the  
chief Fakafanua. The ancestor of Fakafanua, the present noble of Mau-  
fanga, was Kinikinilau who probably lived in the early part of the seventeenth  
century (26, p. 69) so that the Fakafanua title does not appear to be very  
old. The exact site of the sanctuary in Tongatabu was called Vakataumai.  
The priest seems to have borne the name of Makau. If tradition is to be [793]  
relied upon, there was already a Makau officiating in the time of Kinikinilau.  
It would be interesting to know whether the god of that time bore the name  
Tui Haa Fakafanua. Today the god is rudely referred to as Fakafanua's  
devil as well as by his true name. Collocott refers to the famous sanctuary  
of the god at Maufanga, which afforded protection to fugitives from venge-  
ance. It was this sanctuary that was shelled by the French warship *Astrolabe*  
in 1827 (20, p. 268 footnote):



It happened to be the sacred town of Ma Fanga, which, being the supposed abode of their deities, and of the souls of their ancestors and deceased friends, has always from time immemorial been considered neutral ground, and as such respected in their most bloody wars. It is governed by the high-priest of the island, who guards the tombs of the deceased princes, presides at the annual sacrifices, and receives the first-fruits offered at the shrine of their deities. 776 778 [793]

Tui Haa Fakafanua is one of the deities who is still regarded as existent in Tonga. The sacred pool of the god is located near the present convent in Maufanga. If a woman bathes alone in this pool, and while bathing sees a gecko, she believes that the god has entered her and death is the result. Frequently when a girl dies it is said that the god has caused her death, whether or not she has bathed in the god's pool. This god is also believed to have manifested himself at times on Eua Island. A small, clear stream called Malimaliloto is sacred to this god. A man who dwelt beside the stream was made very handsome by the god, who himself is said to appear sometimes as a handsome man in order to have his way with some woman. In Lifuka, Haapai, the priest of the god dwelt in a house on the site of the god's temple. He possessed the power of prophecy and whatever he foretold came to pass. In the priest's house was a room formed of tapa screens. If people came to consult the priest he told them to wait for the god. After waiting inside the house for a while, a gecko usually put in its appearance somewhere in the house and was regarded as the manifestation of the god. Should relatives of a very sick man appeal to the god, the appearance of the gecko was regarded as a favorable omen for the man's recovery, its non-appearance indicating that the god did not wish the patient to live. Usually the priest was hidden behind the tapa screen when the gecko appeared. When the priest became possessed by the god he lay down and shook violently. After the spasm of trembling was over he would sit up and tell the waiting people the wishes of the god. It is said this priest talked in a natural tone of voice. This particular priest was murdered by Taufaaahau, afterwards King George I. Taufaaahau had warned the priest to cease his practice, but he did not do so. Taufaaahau had his people bring kava to the house of the god. There the kava ring was formed and the brew served. Taufaaahau served the priest. As he threw back his head to drink, Taufaaahau struck him on the neck with his fist and killed him. Thereafter the adherents of the god became Christian. 776 778 [825] [763] [763] [787] [825] [787] [797]

Three informants of Faleloa, and one of Fotua, Foa Island, Haapai, related stories about the sanctuary of Tui Haa Fakafanua at that place. The god's house was said to be a long house, hence the origin of the name Faleloa for the modern village. As usual, the manifestation of the god at this sanctuary was through the medium of a gecko. The god appeared in or was represented (*fakafofonga*) by a woman named Nganga, according to the Faleloa informants; by a priest named Makau according to the Fotua informant. 776 778 [825] [793]



mant. A joint of the little finger of some close relative of a sick person was sacrificed as an offering to the god and was believed to result in the patient's restoration to health. As in Tongatabu the presence of the gecko indicated to the supplicants that the god had appeared. At this sanctuary there was a white stone called Makau (Calling-stone), thus having the same name as the priest at the god's sanctuary in Maufanga. It is said that when the god desired to assemble people he beat upon this stone and people would come. This statement probably means that the priest beat upon this stone, for Tongans seem not to discriminate often in their statements between the priest and the god, which seems natural enough according to the belief that the priest becomes the embodiment of the god. It is said that when Taufaaahau was planning to come to Haapai from Tongatabu to destroy the temples of the gods, the stone Makau gave warning of this while Taufaaahau was yet in Tongatabu. The stone Makau is reported to be buried in a vault in the cemetery at the beach in Faleloa, but just which vault it is not known.

The account of the Fotue informant (Mesake Lomu) concerning Tui Haa Fakafanua's establishment at Faleloa differs in certain details from the accounts of the Faleloa informants, and makes Makau the priest, and not the stone.

Tui Haa Fakafanua had a temple in Faleloa in the island Foa, Haapai group. His priest there was named Makau. The incarnation of the god was the gecko (*moko*), to which the people prayed. Should any person be ill, a finger of another person would be amputated and taken to Tui Haa Fakafanua.

The god had two other incarnations, namely the man-eating shark *tenifa*, also variously called mud shark and tiger shark, and the ordinary shark, *anga*. Should anyone desire to tapu his garden (plantation) he would make a wooden image of the man-eating shark and place it in the garden. If anyone stole from that garden and later went into the sea, he would be eaten by a shark. In Tui Haa Fakafanua's temple there was a basket in which was a whale's tooth and turmeric.

Makau, the priest of the god, owned a double sailing vessel (*kalio*) called the Fekitaki, which, when not in use, was kept covered with coconut-leaf mats. A man named Fangu, from Uvea stole the mats and thus exposed the vessel to the sun. When Makau arrived the vessel had been much damaged by exposure. So Makau stood at the water's edge and called out to Tui Haa Fakafanua, "Thy vessel has had mischief done unto it. Search for the perpetrator." Shortly afterwards the thief Fangu bathed in the sea. Then he sat on the dry sand and made himself some kava. While so doing a huge man-eating shark bit and ate him.

Tui Haa Fakafanua appears to have had also a god house and a priest on the island of Nomuka, Haapai. It is said that the god made people "silly" who came to consult him.

McKern (42) excavated on Pangaimotu Island, near Tongatabu, a mound which was formerly the site of a temple to Tui Haa Fakafanua. Takai, the chief of Pea, is said to have lived for a time on Pangaimotu early in the nineteenth century, but declined to build his house on this site, which was evidently then deserted, even though it was a fine high and dry location. His

objection was that it had been the place of a god's house. Girls of Pangai-motu were warned not to bathe on the beach in front of this site lest the god steal them away. A girl thus ravished by the god either died shortly thereafter, or was never seen again.

## HINA

The moon is regarded as the abode of Hina, the goddess of beauty and consort of the handsome god Sinilau. It is said that in the full moon, Hina can be seen seated under an *ovava* tree beating tapa on a tapa board (*tulua*). One informant mentioned a moon god named Mahina, which is also the designation of the physical moon itself and also of the months. The term *hinehina* refers to the whiteness of moonlight. The sun seems also to have been anthropomorphised, for he is characterized as the father of certain heroes (26, p. 111). There were, however, no temples to either the sun or the moon, nor were there any priests so far as I could learn.

## TAUFA

The full name of the deity Tauga is Taufaitahi or Tauga-of-the-sea. His principal shrine seems to have been at Tatakamotonga, in Mua, the capital of Tongatabu. The temple, called Kikiloi, was located on the tract Ahau. This temple was not different from any ordinary Tongan house. There was also a temple of this god in the tract called Ahau in the present village of Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. In both Haapai and Tongatabu the god was believed to appear in the form of a white man-eating shark (*tenifa*). Should a *tenifa* kill anyone, the people considered that the god was angry and proceeded to present kava and other things to propitiate him. In Lifuka, the descendants of the former shark worshippers still live in the tract called Ahau. The head of the family today is David Ti.

Taufaitahi bears the distinction of having been the patron god of Taugaahau, later King George I.

Taugaahau was originally called as a small boy Ngininginiolanga. His health was poor, so his parents brought him from Haapai to Tongatabu, taking him to the chief Vaea of Houma and to Maafutukuiaulahi of Vaini, whose daughter, Hoamofaleono, was Taugaahau's mother. Moreover, in that time there was a famine in Haapai. Vaea and Maafu took the boy to the temple of Taufaitahi at Mua and besought Kautae the priest to plead for him. They carried the boy into the god's house and then they brought a coconut to Kautae who spun it. When the coconut stopped, the eyes pointed skyward (out of the door of the house) and the sickness left the boy. If the coconut had pointed otherwise the boy would have died. The cause of the boy's sickness was unknown. The god was in the priest Kautae at the time of the cure. At the curing Kautae, while inspired, said to Taugaahau's family: "I'm going to cure him. I think he is better. I think I can make him better. If I can't you'd better take him to another god. I'll spin the coconut to see if he will get better."

After spinning the coconut, Kautae cracked it and then sprinkled everyone with coconut water. This was to make the sickness leave Taufaaahau. After the god had restored the boy to health, Kautae changed his name from Nginginiolanga to Taufaaahau. 776 755 643 [553]

Any chief sick a long while might be brought before Kautae, with such presents as roast pig and kava. The visitors sat very quietly while the god entered Kautae. The coming of the god was shown by Kautae's looking "like a fool." When the god entered Kautae he was seated. [The informant, the Kautae of 1921, had seen his father thus possessed.] Afterwards Kautae spun the coconut to determine if the person would live. Then kava was made for the god. The kava was drunk by the people, but sea water brought in a coconut vessel was given to the god through his representative Kautae. The kava was served in banana leaf cups, as was the salt water. These, together with the bowl and strainer were brought by Fakaotoota, the priest's attendant who was regularly appointed by Kautae. These were used anciently in place of coconut shells. Salt water did not make Kautae sick. The god was still in Kautae when he drank salt water. Kautae shook all over when the god was in him. The movement of the body was an up-and-down trembling, arms flexed and shaking, head bowed slightly, eyes staring. 776 773 755 787 [276] [45] [415]

The succession to the priestly office of Kautae seems to have been as follows: (5) the incumbent of 1921; (4) the incumbent's father; (3) the incumbent's father's father's brother's son; (2) the incumbent's father's father's brother; (1) the incumbent's father's father. 793 428

The present Kautae said that, when a new priest was appointed at the death of the old one, the god enters the new priest, even though the new priest was only an appointee of the chief or of the king. The present Kautae, who is a Christian, has never felt as though the god were going to enter him. His son, who will probably succeed to the title, is called Halafaiafenga. 793 776 787 [795]

There are two tales about an alleged tomb of the god Taufaitahi which lies beneath the sea. One version places this tomb between Vavau and Niuatoputapu. It is said that in looking through the waters from a boat one can see the white tomb (*faitoka*) and usually near it Taufaitahi himself in the form of a white shark. The other tale attributes the tomb to the bay of Mua in the lagoon of Tongatabu, and between the island of Moun gatapu and the place called Nahafu. It cannot be seen from the surface of the water on account of the mud, but by diving the alleged grave can be seen, a stone surrounded by white sand; it is called Muliafanini. The god himself is said to have dubbed this submarine spot his grave. 776

A tale refers to the seizing of a man named Fatuimoana by the shark god Taufaitahi: 776 825 773 [524]

A number of people were going to the island of Motutapu, Tongatabu, one day to attend games of playing in the surf (*fanifo*). The shark seized Fatuimoana by the arm when he dived and dragged him beneath the water. The people could look down and see the victim being held by the great shark. The priest of the god was sent for and came in the boat. He dived down and brought the drowned Fatuimoana to the surface. The body of the victim was taken to the Hahake district in Tongatabu and the inferior relatives of Fatuimoana had their little fingers cut off and brought as offerings to Kautae who was begged to restore Fatuimoana to life, but all in vain. [782]

Another tale refers to the temple of Taufaitahi in Tatakamotonga, Tonga-776  
 tabu, serving as a sanctuary (*fale hufanga*) for the chief Niukapu who was 773  
 being pursued by Taufaaahau (later King George I): 778

Taufaaahau had pursued the chief Niukapu with the intent of killing him. The fugitive had gone to various houses of sanctuary, of which there were three. Two of these leaked badly (that is, fugitives were not safe in them), but Kautae's was tight (safe). Kautae's was the one to which the hunted Niukapu now bent his steps. Before his arrival, however, Taufaaahau issued instructions that Niukapu be carefully watched, but not attacked. The watch was set. Niukapu's friends, however, advised him to carry several spears into the sacred enclosure, so that the watchers would suppose that he was a person belonging to the place. The ruse worked and Niukapu approached the enclosure without molestation and passed through the gateway.

When it was seen that Niukapu had safely entered the sanctuary, Taufaaahau gave 776  
 orders that someone's finger be amputated. This was done and the finger presented to 773  
 the god as an offering. Kautae's finger was then cut off as a counter-offering and 778  
 sent to Taufaaahau, who then slaughtered a man and had the body together with goods 782  
 (*koloa*) carried to Kautae, the priest of the god. At this Kautae wept, because it  
 meant that Niukapu must be surrendered. However, Kautae's daughter interposed,  
 saying: "Weep not. Slay me instead, so that Niukapu will be free." She was im-  
 mediately killed and carried to Taufaaahau. That is how Niukapu escaped. It was  
 said that in slaying the girl Kautae had made virtually an offering of his own  
 life (*monoco*). It was said of priests that it was better for them to die than that [793]  
 anyone seeking sanctuary should perish. Niukapu in gratitude told Kautae to take his  
 pick of his lands, but Kautae merely asked for Niukapu's kava and got it. When  
 Niukapu's kava is called, Kautae can now claim it and seems often to do so.

Kautae, the present priest of the god, bore the name of Teukitahi before 776  
 his appointment by the Prince Consort Tungi. He belongs to the Haa Mohefo 793  
 or lineage of the Tui Kanokupolu. The present Kautae is a Roman Catholic [795]  
 and, of course, does not exercise his priestly functions as did his predecessors.  
 He was more than eighty years of age when I interviewed him. He empha-  
 sized that Taufaitahi was not a man who had died and had been deified like  
 Fakailootonga, but that Taufaitahi was a spirit from Pulotu; that the god  
 himself is without form and without appearance, purely a spirit (*faahikehe*),  
 who travels from Pulotu to Tonga in a spirit boat (*vakaloa*), which is tied  
 at Vakafaioho, an inlet at Nahafu, near Mua. Then, he said, the god enters  
 his priest, but never appears ashore in any form other than Kautae; at sea  
 the god may enter a *tenifa* (shark).

This conception of Taufaitahi seems to fit the general Tongan idea as to  
 the nature of the gods, in considering them intangible, invisible, formless  
 spirits. Taufaitahi differs from certain other shark gods in being regarded 776  
 as never having been a human being. Tui Tofua, another deity, incarnate 825  
 also in the *tenifa*, or man-eating shark, is said once to have been a living  
 person who was transformed into a shark. In the same way, Seketoo, the  
 fish god of Niuatoputapu, was also once a human being who proceeded to  
 drown himself and became a fish.

## TUI TOFUA

I have given (26, p. 77) a number of tales about the god of Tofua 776  
Island, reputed to have been a chief's son who committed suicide by drown-  
ing and who was transformed into a huge man-eating shark. The father  
of Tui Tofua was named Vakafuhu (possibly the Tui Tonga Vakafuhu),  
and his tomb is said to be located on Tofua Island. It is of stone and very  
smooth and flat, rather different from a langi or royal tomb. The name  
of Tui Tofua's mother was Langitaetae. The term Tui Tofua is not a  
title, but a personal name applied only to the individual who became a  
shark god. The title of the ruler of Tofua is Taufa Tofua.

## DEITIES OF TONGATABU ISLAND

Collocott (9) has dealt so thoroughly with the deities of the Tongatabu [128]  
Islands that I can hope to add only comments and minor details. I have  
already discussed Tui Haa Fakafanua and Taufa.

According to one informant, the god Taliaitupou, as well as the god Pulotu [821]  
Katoa, was capable of stopping a hurricane if beseeched. If the people went  
to the house of Taliaitupou to secure cessation of a hurricane, upon returning  
to their homes the hurricane would be over. Collocott (op. cit. p. 230)  
states that one sacred object of Taliaitupou was a large black volcanic pebble. 776  
As there is another deity, namely, Fakafumaka or Vakafuhu, whose first 778  
name refers to a stone, it seems not impossible to me that the volcanic pebble  
referred to may be the sacred object of Fakafumaka rather than of Taliaitupou.  
The stone, which I saw at the Methodist headquarters in Nukualofa,  
is called Tui Ahau. A companion stone lies at Kolovai in Tongatabu and  
gives us an example of animatism among the Tongans, inasmuch as it is  
considered capable of bringing forth small pebbles. That white coral pebbles [823]  
and black volcanic pebbles buried together will increase, is firmly believed by  
Tongans to-day.

The local deity of Nukualofa is said to have been a goddess named Popua. 776  
She was reputed to be endowed with poor legs and it is said in consequence [826]  
Nukualofa people have poor legs. When the first missionary ship was off [797]  
the island of Malinoa near Tongatabu, Popua informed the Tongans that she  
had come to them because of her affection, but that the white man's god that  
was coming in the ship was stronger than the native gods, all of whom had  
retired to Ata Island (north of Tongatabu), whither she too was going.

The god Vaiuka, who had his seat at Niutoua, manifested himself through  
the matapule priest Leha (op. cit. p. 233). Pulotu Katoa, a god who comes  
in for considerable notice from Collocott (op. cit. p. 162), seems to have been  
a very important deity in Tongatabu. According to Watkin (61), this god [821]  
caused storms because of his displeasure over the introduction of Christianity. [798]



## [Tongatabu Island]

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Pulotu Katoa was a weather god controlling drought, hurricane, and rain. 776  
 His sanctuary was at Kolonga, in northeastern Tongatabu, and his priest bore 821  
 the title of Vakaahi. The site of his temple was called Haateiho and the 793  
 temple itself was called Faletonga (House-of-rites). The last Vakaahi died 787  
 about 1878. I was able, however, to interview his son's son, Tangataloa, 793  
 and obtained from him the following information:

Vakaahi said that when the spirit of Pulotu Katoa entered him he felt that it 776  
 completely filled him, and he felt that it was the god who spoke and not himself. 793  
 The god inspired him only at the tract Haateiho. When there was a drought the 787  
 Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Havea chiefs came from west Tongatabu to Mua, where they 782  
 interviewed the Tui Tonga, preparatory to paying a visit to the temple of Pulotu 643  
 Katoa. The offerings which were brought to the god were fine mats, tapa, and  
 other forms of wealth. These were kept in a special storehouse near the priest's  
 residence. Most of them were never used, but were allowed to decay. What the  
 priest might need he took, however. One Tui Tonga bestowed upon the priest Vakaahi  
 two pieces of land in Lapaha. They were called Ahotalakolao and Faletonga.

It is said that Takai, the chief of Pea, Tongatabu Island, once had an argument  
 with the god Pulotu Katoa, while the god was incarnate in his priest. The argument  
 centered around the ability of the god to create a hurricane. As a test Takai built a  
 house and the god promptly blew it down. Then Takai built a second house of hard  
 wood called *ngesi*. This was built very strongly with posts all around. The god tried  
 in vain to blow it down. The remains of this house which was called Fakaveleatenge  
 are still to be seen in Pea.

Another story refers to an occasion on which Fae, the younger brother of 776  
 Takai, and his successor at Pea, besought Pulotu Katoa for rain to break a 793  
 drought: 821

Fae called at Pea an assembly of the priests of all of the gods of Tongatabu. 623  
 Each priest besought his god for rain, but to no avail. Then Fae suggested that they  
 all proceed to Kolonga to beseech Pulotu Katoa for rain, at his shrine. This was done.  
 Vakaahi, the priest instructed the visitors to prepare kava for the god stating that he  
 would supply the water. The kava was chewed and placed in the bowl. Although it  
 was a clear, hot day, a cloud appeared over the bowl and rain fell and filled it. More-  
 over, the rain continued to such an extent that it was up to the waists of the chiefs and  
 priests in the kava circle. Fae insisted that they should not move, lest the god become  
 insulted.

When the rain was over they set out for Pea, but Fae decided to remain at Ahau  
 in Mua. Before the departure of the visitors Vakaahi's wife gave the priests and  
 chiefs fresh tapa garments to replace the wet ones. Vakaahi asked Fae before his  
 departure where he would spend the night, for he intended to have the rain cease until  
 Fae had reached his destination. Fae replied that he would remain at Ahau in Mua  
 for the night. The rain was withheld until he reached Ahau. The rest of the party went  
 on to Pea, but in a heavy rain, for just as soon as Fae had reached his destination the  
 rain commenced to fall again, as was foretold. Fae's purpose in stopping at Ahau was  
 to visit the priest of the god Taufaitahi. Fae had a house of his own at Ahau.

It is to be noted that Farmer (23) states on the authority of early 776  
 Methodist missionaries that Hikuleo was the most important deity of Tonga-  
 tabu and the one for whom the *inasi* ceremony was held. Yet modern in-  
 formants stress Pulotu Katoa and have little to say about Hikuleo. I suspect



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that the two deities may be connected or perhaps identical. This opinion 776  
was expressed by the informant Rose Fatafehi, the son's daughter of the Tui  
Tonga Lauilitonga.

A purely local deity is a cannibal god reputed to have dwelt in a cave [266]  
called Anapoutaha, near Maufanga, Tongatabu.

DEITIES OF EUA ISLAND

The following scraps of information which were received about the deities  
of Eua Island supplement the information Collocott has already presented:

Although there is a certain amount of localization of gods in Eua, there  
seem not to have been gods for each district. The god or goddess Tafakula  
seems to have been generally worshipped and was appealed to for favorable  
seasons for the crops. The origin of this deity is set forth by Collocott (9,  
pp. 236, 237). He regards the deity as a female. A modern Eua informant [825]  
knew of no sacred animal for Tafakula; she manifested herself only through [793]  
a priest. Reference is often made to Tafakula in the stories concerning the  
origin of geographic features (26, p. 88). Connected with this deity was a [823]  
great axe-shaped rock in Eua called Kitekihaamo (visible to Samoa). The [776]  
Samoans are said to have been displeased at the visibility of this rock from [173]  
their country so they came and burnt it, and it fell down in strata from which [823]  
it was easy for people to take pieces from which to make axes. The base  
of this rock is said to be still visible on the weather shore of Eua and is called  
Toa Makahunu. It is said to vary in color, being in part white, yellow, red,  
and black. Tafakula was also known in Haapai and Vavau. 776

Another deity of Eua Island was Lefelegevalu whose house stood on a  
mound beside the road from Tufuvai to Haatua. The mound is said to be 776  
the goddess transformed. She was a *taupoou* (virgin). Two lovers (*manaia*) 773  
tried to approach her during the night but were unable to reach her before 823  
daybreak, and were transformed into two smaller mounds which are to be  
seen to-day on the ridge back of the mound Lefelegevalu. The two lovers  
were called Ponahiva and Fasikiato, names which are applied to the two  
mounds. It is said that dawn broke when the two had reached the tract  
called Fakaahuahu (near the present race course).

Ko Ponahiva mo Fasikiato,  
Lefelegevalu tu'u mei lalo.  
Ko Kopoka api kou kumia ngako,

Tapuhia moe luo ki toke,

Kokafa e api kai tole.

Here are Ponahiva and Fasikiato,  
Lefelegevalu stands below.

Kopoka is the tract where is eaten the fat  
rat,

Tapuhia is the place of the hole of the  
eel,

Kokafa is the tract where vagina is eaten.

[539]

The names Lefelegevalu and Ponahiva are said to refer respectively to  
eight female organs and nine male organs.

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South of the mound Lefelegevalu is a stone called Angangamofae, which is said to be natural in formation but which looks like a fish having the head of a stingray (*fai*) and the tail of a shark (*anga*). 776  
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DEITIES OF LIFUKA ISLAND

Aloalo seems to have been an important Haapai god with his sanctuary on the tract Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka Island. He seems to have been especially a weather god and was also consulted concerning future events. 776  
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[821]

The temple of the god was a Tongan house, one end of which was screened off with cane (*koko*). The god was represented by a whale's tooth (*lei*) which was kept in this compartment covered by a fine mat (*kie*). "He stayed alone like a king and no one was with him." People who came to consult the god waited outside the house. They brought with them presents of food which they left in the anteroom of the house just within the entrance, but away from the compartment where the god dwelt. Food that was left by departing visitors would be found to have entirely disappeared upon their return and this was true even if the food was a hundred pound pig. 776  
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If people planned to voyage from Haapai to Tongatabu they brought food to Aloalo and inquired as to the most propitious time for setting sail. The god would tell them whether they should leave immediately or later, in order to enjoy good weather all of the way. He might also instruct the voyagers as to the most propitious time to return from Tongatabu. If they failed to regard his instructions they were likely to meet with mishap. 776  
787  
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[782]

The "boat" of the god was the white tern (*tala*). When people went shark fishing they followed the god's bird so they might be led to a good fishing ground. The bird of the god seems to have been a captive white tern with a string tied to its foot. Today the white tern is still used as an indicator of good fishing grounds. 776  
825  
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The god manifested himself by causing the whale's tooth to move or shake. However, prior to the shaking, a yellow butterfly, appearing at the front door of the god's house, indicated that the deity would shortly appear in the whale's tooth. The appearance of the yellow butterfly was to inform the priest of the god's impending visit. The people in general were apprised and would come to pray on such an occasion, particularly those people who had illness. It is said that the butterfly was not the god himself, but merely the messenger of the god. 776  
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[782]

Aloalo not only predicted the weather but he could also govern it, for example, being able to stop excessive rains when prayed to do so by the people. Aloalo's priest was called Vavanga (literally "to know everything"). He served as intermediary between the supplicants and the god. After the appearance of the yellow butterfly and the movements of the whale's tooth the god entered the priest, who would be convulsed by trembling. While in this state he delivered the message of the god to the people. The priest when inspired was seated, not reclining. The district in which the tract of the god was located was called Ahau, a name which refers to the ruling chief. 776  
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[793]  
[787]

The daughter's son of the last priest Vavanga was living at the site in 1920, and my informant was himself the son's son of Vavanga. There was another sanctuary of Aloalo near the northern end of Lifuka Island at the village of Holopeka. 793  
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Aloalo went the same way as the rest of the Haapai gods when Taufaaahau set out to destroy them. The priest of the god fled, however, so that he escaped the fate of other priests and priestesses who were put to death by Taufaaahau. 776  
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An informant, Josiah Paluto of Pangai, Lifuka, gave me the following account of the god Ngaohaa: 776  
[115]

The priestess much consulted by the chiefs of Pangai, Lifuka, was an old woman named Melaia who resided at Holopeka, on a tract that is situated in the hereditary lands of Tui Afitu, who lives in Vavau. The priestess resided in a heathen temple by herself and she was very powerful (mighty), "just like God"; for she was able to accomplish many things. She served the god Ngaohaa, who was also the deity of Fonoifua Island, which likewise belongs to Tui Afitu. [It seems likely that the god was Tui Afitu's tutelary deity.] 776  
793

If she said it would rain, rain came. If she said it would blow hard, it did so. The people used to go to consult her. If a voyage was about to be undertaken and the priestess said it would blow, the voyage was abandoned for that day; but she would direct the people upon which day to sail, as the wind would be favorable on that day. If oil-making was to be done by the chiefs, the priestess would be asked if the weather would be fine or wet. If she said it would be fine, the oil-making was undertaken, but if she said it would be wet, the oil-making was deferred. 776  
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If a chief's child was sick, the child and a woman would be taken to the priestess and a finger cut off of the woman and offered as a sacrifice. The priestess would then be asked about the child's chances of recovery. The priestess would reply: "You must await the god's appearance." As they sat and waited they would see the priestess tremble and suddenly the god would appear in the form of a gecko (*moko*). The priestess would exclaim: "The god has appeared and you may return in peace, as the chief's offspring will live." The signs were easily read and depended upon the appearance or non-appearance of the god. 776  
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787  
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[782]

At other times chiefs would go to the priestess to consult as to future events. Melaia would say: "Wait here until the god appears." Presently he would appear, but the first thing the chiefs would notice would be the trembling of Melaia, who at the same time would bring up green vomit. Afterwards Melaia would say: "Chiefs and people, listen well to me. The god did damage last night. He ate man. Now these are the instructions to you. You chiefs can leave this place and rest. Come back tomorrow. In the meantime, the god and I will hold a consultation as to the reason of these recent happenings." 776  
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On one occasion Melaia consulted the god, who said to her: "This is what you must tell to the chiefs and people when they come tomorrow: One of the Tui Tonga's vessels left last night, but met with disaster enroute. A matapule of the Tui Tonga was coming on an errand for him; namely, to take away the Tui Haa Takalaua's daughter. As the vessel is wrecked, the message has not been delivered and the Tui Tonga's matapule is lost, he who is the son of Paku. He and many others were swallowed by a man-eating shark (*tenifa*). When the shark was opposite Holopeka it jumped ashore. Then the gecko went and ate the shark." Afterwards the gecko vomited through Melaia and it was green blood he vomited. The loss of the Tui Tonga's vessel had been unknown to the chiefs until Melaia informed them.

This was the answer that Melaia gave to the people the next day, saying: "This is what has happened regarding what you wanted to know."

Another informant, Ana Manu of Holopeka, had this to say regarding Ngaohaa: [115]

The people prayed and made obeisance to this god. There was a house for the god in the town of Holopeka. The situation of the house was called Tave, and the holy place (*potu tapu*) was called Pava. It was strictly prohibited for anyone to enter the place in which was the god. A basket was placed in the shrine. In it were a throwing club and a whale's tooth, which were wrapped in a piece of tapa (*fetaaki*) smeared with turmeric on the outside. 776  
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Should people come to pray to the god they remained outside and expressed their [782]

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wants. Were the god complaisant to a sick person, he would be taken into Melaia's house, who would then gently massage the patient and he would recover. When people came to make supplication to the god they would wreath themselves about the neck with *ifi* (chestnut) leaves and veil themselves with white tapa. Loud talking and noise were strictly forbidden close to the god's premises in Holopeka. 776 778 782 787 [784]

Ngaohaa was also the principal deity of Fonoifua Island. The chief Taifonoifua, as well as Tui Afitu, was under the protection of this god, who manifested himself only through his priestess, a woman named Fipe. The god Ngaohaa was probably represented in the shellfish *pava*, like certain other gods who had fish or shellfish as their representatives. Pava was also the name of the house or holy place of Ngaohaa, located on the tract Tave. As usual the presence of the god became manifest by the trembling of the priestess, who was usually in a reclining position when the god entered her. Old informants who knew the last priestess said that she was an old woman. Although the deity became manifest in a priestess, he was nevertheless conceived of as a god, not a goddess. The information is not altogether clear as to whether the name Ngaohaa refers only to the god or also to the family to which the priestess Fipe belonged. This family is of *matapule* rank and some members of it are now living on Oua Island. 776 783 [825] [778] [787]

Finger sacrifices to this god were resorted to in trouble or sickness. The finger joints cut off were taken to the priestess, who pronounced the will of the god in the matter which was pending. Voyagers sailing from Haapai to Tongatabu, being delayed at Nomuka Island for weeks on account of head winds, went to Fonoifua to beseech the aid of the god Ngaohaa for favorable winds. It is said no offerings were made, but this hardly seems believable. The premises of the god on Fonoifua comprised a Tongan house of ordinary type, surrounded by a fence of living *puko* stakes such as are to be seen commonly in Tonga to-day. This fence was built and kept in repair by the Fonoifua people, who guarded it, in order that no harm might befall the priestess. The house itself was on a mound and was occupied only by the priestess. The rest of her family are said to have dwelt in other houses within the fence. 776 782 776 782 776 793 [417] [794]

A god named Uluenga (Head-covered-with-turmeric) had a house at Holopeka, Lifuka Island. The following information about Uluenga was imparted by Ana Manu of Holopeka: 776 778

The priest of the god was named Havea. The shrine (*fakafaanga*) was a basket containing three articles, namely, a throwing club, a whale's tooth, and a *paango lafo* (round portion of bottom of the coconut shell used in a game something like deck billiards). These articles were wrapped in white tapa, which was smeared with turmeric. The god had his house on the premises called Haalupo. The holy place or temple was known as Uhaimahu (Rain-in-time-of-plenty). It was not permissible for people to enter into the holy place. Also loud talking was prohibited in the god's premises. [793] [784]

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In making obeisance to the god on the occasion of some disaster, the people would place around their necks wreaths of *isi* leaves and don white tapa on their heads. They would remain outside and make obeisance. If their purpose was the cure of a sick person, the person would be brought on a kind of litter or bier and placed outside where the people were sitting. The patient would be massaged and anointed by the priest and would recover. [776 782 755 757]

In the holy place were various trees. Should anyone pluck of them that person would fall down near unto death. If taken to the god, he would recover. If the carriage to the god's house was not speedy, death would result. [776 778 784 753]

When the god entered into Havea, his priest, it was noticed that Havea trembled. His face changed color and he "looked dreadful." Havea had concubines who resided in the place called Manikolo. These were allotted separate periods with Havea and slept with him in pairs, one to be with him in the day time and the other to be with him in the night time. [776 778 787 595]

The people said prayers to Uluenga. The god had his graveyard which was called Haa Fakanapa. [776 782]

There was a god in Koulo, Lifuka, whose name was Tangakina. The name of his premises where he had a home, was Nahakalau. People prayed and made supplication to him. If persons were sick they would go to the god's place. They remained outside of his house, however, bending the body in respect. The god also had a water hole called Faatoto, which means "often blood stained." [778 516 778 823]

## DEITIES OF FOA ISLAND

In addition to the account of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua (p. 297), the informant Mesake Lomu of Fotua, gave me this report of another god of Foa Island:

Fakatoufifita was the god of the chief Niukapu in Fangaleounga, Foa. The people prayed to Fakatoufifita and if any person was sick, they would cut off the finger of another and take it to Fakatoufifita as an offering, which was wrapped in an unfinished piece of tapa (*fetaaki*). The patient would immediately recover. [755]

The god (priest?) lived in his house in Fangaleounga on the premises known as Fungasi. There was a sacred basket of the god's, inside of which were two objects, a whale's tooth and a parcel of turmeric. [793 778]

## DEITIES OF HAAFEVA ISLAND

Tonu and Lahe, presumably male deities, were mentioned as being associated with a well or spring which was regarded as their property. The spring is called Matahiva. [776 778 823]

## DEITIES OF FOTUHAA ISLAND

My informant did not know the name of the patron deity of Fotuhaa, but said that the name of the tract in the bush where the priest of the god lived was Laulea. This god seems to have been besought if there was a drought, the people bringing coconuts and wreaths (*sisi*) and making kava in front of the god's house. [821 782]

The god, while in possession of the person of the priest, drank the kava. After the kava drinking the spokesman of the people, usually a matapule, would tell the god that the island had been long without rain and that rain was desired. The god, speaking [776 793 787 864]



through the priest, would reply, "Very well, you may prepare for rain. Fix the leaky roofs, bring food, and prepare everything for the rain. In four or five days it must rain." On one particular occasion the sixth day dawned without a cloud in the sky, but by three o'clock in the afternoon the rain clouds had assembled and the rain had begun. The rain lasted for the period which the god had predicted. The Fotuhaa people always followed this procedure whenever they wished rain.

When the missionaries were about to come to Fotuhaa, the god informed the people that he was going to leave and to take up his residence on the islands of Kao and Tofua. He knew in advance of the coming of the missionaries. The informant, a Fotuhaa man, seemed to consider the god and the priest as practically identical. At least he designated both by the term *taula tevolo*.

This same mode of identifying priest and god was common to most all of the informants I interviewed concerning the gods.

#### DEITIES OF HAANO ISLAND

The god of Tui Haa Ngana, the ruler of Haano Island, was called Feinga Uteo (To-earnestly-desire-sugar-cane). Nothing was learned about the attributes or functions of this god. The sanctuary of Hikuleo on this island has been discussed earlier.

Another god of Haano, and one quite prominent also in Tongatabu Island, was Haele Feke.

The sanctuary of this god in Haano was located on the tract which was owned by the Tui Kanokupolu and was under the care of the matapule Kioa. Haele Feke was thought to know beforehand what was about to occur. The coming of the god was indicated by an octopus (*feke*) coming from the sea to the tract where the priest lived. When an octopus thus came, the Tui Kanokupolu's matapule Kioa brought tapa and coconut leaf mats (*takapau*). The mats were placed on the ground and the tapa on top of them, so that the incarnation of the god might rest upon them. The octopus in which the god became incarnate might be either a white or a brown octopus. The priest of the god was himself named Feke (Octopus). After the message of the god had been delivered the priest took the octopus from the pile of tapa to the water. The coming ashore of the octopus was regarded as a harbinger of coming events and such a visit was followed by some anxiety on the part of the people. On one occasion a number of sick people died a few days after the visit of the god. It was then believed that the visit was ominous of their forthcoming death. It is said that the house of the priest was half a mile from the beach and on a site called Fotuamua. It seems inconceivable that an octopus could travel such a distance overland. It would seem more likely that he was received at the beach by the priest. The Tongan informant, from whom the above information was obtained, was unable to say whether the god Haele Feke was male or female.

#### DEITIES OF MOUNGAONE ISLAND

There were two brother gods in Moungaone. Moso was the name of the elder, Pusipapanga the younger; their father was Tutumatua; the mother, Finetaunganoa. Toke was the priest for both gods. Their incarnations were human in form and manifested themselves in one house on the tract Nukutuli. They lived in a rock on Moungaone called Mosomaka, which was about ten feet high, round and hollow and could be entered. It was tapu; people dared not go near it under penalty of death. The god Moso was the same as Moso in Samoa. The priest Toke shook when inspired and



told the people that the gods wished pigs and other food, and when they saw the priest shaking they knew the god wanted something. There is no descendant of the present Toke living in Moungaone to-day. Kava Moungaone is the chief of Moungaone, and the two gods were his patrons. 776  
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A third deity of Moungaone was the fish god Fakapatu (26, p. 81).

#### DEITIES OF NOMUKA ISLAND

Folautaofo was a god of Nomuka living in a hill called Fungaholu. The people prayed to this god and if anyone was sick, a person of his family sacrificed a little finger to the god. If a boat came from another place and then wanted to return but could not because of strong wind, the people thought it was because the god was living in the top of the mast of the vessel. The mast was then taken down, when the wind quieted and the sea became smooth, so that they had a good day to go, the mast was set up again. In the hill is a big hole with many human bones. It is thought that Folautaofo lived in this hole and ate men. The "boat" of the god was the *kakafatu*, a shellfish which is not eaten by the people. 782  
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Fehuluni, a deity who appears in various parts of the kingdom, is a frequenter of Nomuka especially (p. 292).

#### DEITIES OF UIHA ISLAND

Of the several deities of Uiha concerning whom I obtained information, Hikuleo (p. 292) and Tokeimoana (9, p. 234) have been to some extent described. Tokeimoana (Eel-in-the-ocean) became incarnate in the eel, as his name implies. 825

Tokeimoana's house, called Hakaumama (Reef-of-the-world), was in the bush on a tract called Fongolongo. A priest named Hakaumama lived there and was fed there and told the people whatever the god wanted. Sometimes the priest would say to the people, "The god has arrived and is desirous of dining on pork." Thereupon the people would bake a pig and give it to him. Or he would demand some tapa; whereupon they would cut off a piece and give it to him. 778  
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When there was any sickness, a healthy man or woman was brought to the priest to have a little finger amputated and taken to the god's house and offered as a sacrifice. The person selected was a child of the sick person's mother's brother (*tuasina*), in other words, an inferior cross-cousin. Some of the sick got well. 782  
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Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) and his family bowed down before the god Tokeimoana. They were forbidden to eat sea eel, but the people who were not worshippers might eat it. The people who worshipped this god had to lie exposed on the spot where the eel had been broiled or baked even if the fire was still burning. If they knew it was the place where their "god" had been killed they would go off in another direction so as to avoid coming close to it. Whenever the eel in which the god was incarnate crawled about on dry land, the people assembled at the god's house and talked to it and when it returned to the water they left. 776  
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Haveakai was another Uiha god but was worshipped only at Felemea. The priests of this god, after conversion to Christianity, bore the name Malakai. I could not learn the Tongan name. The priest is said to have manifested the usual trembling when the god entered him. People near death were brought to him and finger sacrifices offered by some one of the sick person's relatives. So far as I can learn the operation of cutting off a finger joint was never performed by the priest himself, but always by one of the supplicants. The informant did not know what animal constituted the "boat" of the god. Offerings of food brought by the people to this god would be completely consumed by Malakai, if he were inspired, or as the Tongan informant put it, he could 776  
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eat everything because his god was in him. To Haveakai, and to other Tongan gods, a huge root of kava was an invariable present, as it is to a great chief. Such a sized root was called *konga kava*. 776  
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The priest of the god Kafoiaatu was named Maumui and his home was in the tract Manaiange, in Uiha, where he had a house. He possessed whale ivory, which was kept in a fine mat, and black tapa. The fine mat was placed on the black tapa, and then wrapped in a piece of ordinary tapa, and no one was allowed to go near the place where it was kept. 776  
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This deity was also the god of the chief Malupo of Uiha, and he and the people prayed to Kafoiaatu. When they went to offer sacrifice they would wear Tahitian chestnut leaves strung around their necks. They would sit outside the god's house and pray from there. They had also plain tapa (*lou-fetaaki*) wound around their heads. No chief ever offered any sacrifice, but the matapule did. 776  
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The bird of the god is the fruit dove *kulukulu* (*Ptilopus porphyreus*) and the spirit of the god entered the *kulukulu*. If this dove flew and roosted in a tree, noise of any kind would be forbidden nearby. When Kafoiaatu entered Maumui, he shivered and cried and changed and became white like a corpse. If anyone was on the point of death and a person's finger was cut off and given as an offering to Kafoiaatu and that offering was accepted, the person recovered. 776  
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Another Uiha deity was the god Taufamangumototo.

His priest was Kakala. His tract was Finetofusi and he had a house on it. The things he left in this house were a shield (*pa*) and a club. The bird of the god was the *kaleva* (*Eudynamis tahitiensis*) and he often entered into this bird. This god hated dogs. The people prayed and sacrificed to him. If there was any sickness, or a person near death, they would then cut off somebody's finger and take it to Taufamangumototo and if the sacrifice were accepted, the person would live. If sacrifice were to be made the people wore a string of *hoi* leaves round their necks and then went and offered sacrifice to the god. It was forbidden that they enter the god's house and they would sit outside. This god belonged to Tuita Toluaetupu and his family and was regarded as very sacred (*toputapu aupito*). It was forbidden for anyone to make any noise near, or to enter, the god's premises. 793  
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Another god in Uiha was called Foliaki of Pulotu.

This god belonged to Malupo and his family. His priest was Havea who lived in a house on the island Uiha; but apparently the shrine of the god was on Tatafa Island. He had a basket as the shrine (*fakafaanga*) and container of his sacred objects of whale ivory and shells. He also had a pigeon (*lupe*, *Globicera pacifica*) which he would let loose. The pigeon would go to Tatafa Island and the people would go to the pigeon. Their gatherings all took place at the Sia Hinefaitehina. If anyone was ill he and his relatives would string the chestnut leaves and wear them around their necks and go to the god and make their sacrifices near his shrine. 793  
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This god's food consisted of yams, pork, and other things, and he would drink the young coconuts. He detested the name of Fatafehi and it was never mentioned in Uiha. For the same reason the name Manumataongc Polau Faivaka was never called. 782  
784

When this god entered Havea, the priest is said to shiver and change, and his face to become red, and his manner utterly different. Kava was not served to Havea in the ordinary kava cup, but in a folded banana leaf. He had scraped coconut for relish (*fono*) and this was folded up in banana leaves. After he had partaken of the kava, he would lift up his relish and eat it all, not leaving a crumb. 787  
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All noise, such as whistling and clapping, was forbidden at this god's place. 784

There were two other Uiha deities whose names and sex the informant did not know. One of these deities had a house on a tract called Pulemoui,

which was presided over by a priestess named Hena, and the other was established in the tract called Olotaane. The name of the priest was Hala-<sup>776</sup> tapu. [793]

## DEITIES OF VAVAU

I have but little to add to Mariner's account of Vavau deities. Two prominent deities were the goddesses Sisi and Faingaa, who sometimes appeared as two beautiful women or again as two herons, Sisi being a white or piebald heron, Faingaa being a gray heron. Both the white and gray birds belong to a single species which is dichromatic in coloring. There is a story (26, p. 196) which relates to these goddesses in their human form. [825]

At the village of Toula, Vavau, there stands to-day a large smooth boulder on a grassy flat. There were formerly two of these boulders, but one has been broken by the villagers to use for their ovens. The two stones were said to represent Sisi and Faingaa, who often resided therein. A Toula informant said that when the goddesses left the boulders they assumed the form of herons, and in that guise they went on long flights, catching and eating human beings who came in their way. [825]

The following list of gods of Vavau was supplied by Tapueluelu, the mayor of Neiafu: <sup>776</sup>

1. Talaiai Tupou, a male deity.
  2. Tui Haa Fakafanua. The god became incarnate at times as a man who went about fighting the other gods. His priest in Vavau was named Faainu.
  3. Haele Feke. The sacred animal of this god was the octopus.
  4. Fehuluni. In Vavau, Fehuluni is considered as bisexual; appearing sometimes as a man, sometimes as a woman. This deity is said to have no sacred animal. There was, however, a priest to Fehuluni in Vavau. Aa Island was the god's residence (see p. 294).
  5. Taufaitahi, a male deity who appeared in a certain shark.
  6. Fakailoatonga, a male deity who might appear either in a shark or a kingfisher. His priest was Toki, for whom William Mariner was named. This deity was the god of my informant's father, Naufahu, the son of Finau Fisi. [Popua, a goddess of Tongatabu, was the patron deity of Tapueluelu's mother, who was Funakitoutai of Nukualofa. Funakitoutai's parents were from the Hihifo district of Tongatabu. Apparently the worship of Popua was never introduced to Vavau.]
- Tapueluelu did not know of the god Aloalo. He said that Tui Tofua was strictly a Haapai god and Pulotu Katoa a Tongatabu god.

Of gods of other islands of the Vavau group but little was learned. A goddess named Latutama presided over the island of Okoa and was said to be worshipped there only. Her sacred animal was the shark. She was served by a priest who occupied a house in the tract called Kaukiola. The volcanic island of Late, to the west of Vavau, had as a god Tau[moefolau]. [825] [793]

The informant was certain only of the first syllable of this name.

As to the particular deities which the various Vavau chiefs worshipped, [565]

Tapueluelu knew but little. He said that the people of the lineage Haa<sup>776</sup> Ngata Tupu worshipped Fakailoatonga. He said that commoners of the<sup>565</sup> lineage, as well as a great chief like Ulukalala, paid their addresses to this<sup>613</sup> deity. The chief Luani worshipped Tui Haa Fakafanua and the chief Tui Lakepa presumably worshipped Taliai Tupou.

Alomafao was a Samoan god whose favorite diet consisted of the inhabi-<sup>776</sup> tants of Tonga. In a great battle with the son of a Tui Haa Takalaua this<sup>648</sup> god was killed and in turn was eaten by the chief and his followers. The<sup>266</sup> oven where he was cooked may still be seen near Utungake, Utungake Island, Vavau.

#### DEITIES OF NIUATOPUTAPU

The most famous deity in Niuatoputapu is Seketoa (26, p. 83), a god<sup>776</sup> who manifests himself in the form of a fish, and according to many ac-<sup>825</sup> counts is still seen to-day. It is said that Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu can call Seketoa when at sea (16, p. 56). Not only do natives report the appearance of the fish who is supposed to embody the god, but many white people have seen the creature. The two following accounts were given by Catholic priests. The first was written in September, 1917, by Father J. B. Mace, S. M.

At the time of my last visit to Niuatoputapu, in June last, it was my good fortune, an exceedingly rare one, to get acquainted with a Tongan divinity, a fish called Seketoa. Here is its origin.

Seketoa was a chief of Niuatoputapu, who was to become Maatu, that is king.<sup>776</sup> On that account one of the influential families, Haaila, had conceived a mortal hatred<sup>825</sup> of him, and resolved that he should not be king. Now it happened that a member of that family, Tupa by name, went out to gather shellfish, which he allowed to rot. He<sup>773</sup> did that because the younger brother of Seketoa suffered from elephantiasis and an-<sup>164</sup> other contagious skin disease.

One evening he rubbed his legs with the decayed shellfish and at night went on<sup>757</sup> to the hut where Seketoa slept. Seketoa awoke and thought it was his brother who had entered. So he said, "Why have you come to me? Do you not know that your disease is contagious? And would you communicate it to me?" But the other, who was armed with an iron-wood lance, made no answer, but pierced Seketoa through and fled. Seketoa rose, but was unable to extract the wood which had broken close to the wound. He therefore went to the neighboring hut where the women were and asked them to bring out a light. He was then able to draw out the end of the lance.

Then, having called his brother to him, the very one who was infected with the contagious disease, he said to him: "My will is that you become king of this island; as for me, I shall go to the sea to succor my brothers in distress." And at his bidding he was wrapped over in coconut leaves and cast into the sea.

The brother of Seketoa became Maatu, that is king of Niuatoputapu. He communicated his<sup>533</sup> disease to his subjects. And since that time a large proportion of the people are<sup>164</sup> afflicted with elephantiasis and other skin diseases.

After being cast into the sea, Seketoa transformed himself into a fish whose color and dimensions it is impossible to determine. His peculiarity lies precisely in this, that he assumes an infinite variety of sizes and colors, sometimes suddenly. The mark by which he is recognized is the scar he bears in his side. Sometimes, though seldom,

he appears as a small fish, no longer than a man's hand. At other times he is a real giant, not less than 5 or 6 meters long. 776

Truly strange feats are told of him. Here is one which is of special interest to us, as it occurred some fifteen years ago. 825

One of my fellow-priests, the Rev. Father Berger, who died in 1905, was then residing at Niua Toputapu. He had spent several weeks in the island of Tafahi, to carve out a large *lali*, a wooden bell, such as are used in the various stations of our Vicariate Apostolic to call the faithful to church. The large piece of timber, enormous in size, had been placed upon a raft made of bamboo, which was towed by two native rowboats. 773

When hardly a hundred meters from the shore our Catholics noticed that it would be impossible for them to reach their destination, the weight of the cargo was forcing the raft under water.

On account of certain remnants of superstition, of which unhappily our Catholics have not entirely rid themselves, such an accident would have augured terrible evils whose consequences might prove disastrous to religion. In their minds a church without a bell is a body without a soul, and therefore the loss of their bell in the depths of the sea meant that defections were to be feared. But just when they expected the *lali* to sink, Seketoa appeared. He slipped beneath the raft, and raised and carried it to the shore of Niua about four miles away.

I have heard twenty times the narration of the fact from eye-witnesses. My fellow-missionaries know it, and the Rev. Father Berger, it is said, has left a relation of it in writing.

That famous *lali* still exists. It is at the station of Vaipoa. It is the largest known. The natives call it "Seketoa's *lali*."

I might relate many another interesting detail, but come directly to what concerns me. 776

We were about fifteen people aboard an old boat. We had just left Niua Toputapu and were near the island of Tafahi, when a native cried out, "Seketoa! Seketoa!" In a second all were afoot. I had often heard of the famous sea-god, but never yet had had the good fortune of seeing him. This time it was not difficult to examine him at leisure, for he almost touched the boat for a whole hour without once disappearing. He was a splendid fish, measuring, so far as I could judge, fully 5 meters. He followed us as a dog follows his master. What struck me most was his change of colors, occurring suddenly and passing from dark gray to sky blue—then he was truly admirable. His head was rather large, but his mouth was very small. 825

As soon as we sighted him, one of the natives hurriedly cast him a kava root, which fell scarcely a half meter from him; and without further delay other young men began busily to beat a second root to prepare a beverage in his honor. As soon as the kava was ready, it was duly distributed. Naturally, the first cup was for the "divinity" that swam in our wake. Its contents were poured into the sea. For a whole hour the pagans that happened to be aboard never ceased to address him compliments, and wishes, and prayers. It was a sight at once laughable and painful, sad and touching, so great were their fervor and conviction.

At last, after having raised himself erect upon his tail almost to the surface, the god-fish left our ship and disappeared.

In reality, what is Seketoa, that fish which appears so seldom, always unaccompanied, which is unafraid of man, whose color varies so, and which is so helpful to man? How is it that it was never noticed in the groups of Central Oceania other than Niua? Fabulists and naturalists offer an explanation, that, for instance, of Lafontaine of old in the fable of "The Monkey and the Dolphin." Seketoa, at least just as he appeared to me, might be a dolphin. His change of colors, which is so striking, is not an unheard of thing—the sea-spider, they say, enjoys the same peculiarity. That explanation, however, I accept only with reservations, in the case that concerns us; since it explains but partly the role of Seketoa. Here is another.



Seketoo, who according to all versions belongs to the royal family of Niua, may well be a mere "invention" of one of the kings of Niua, framed for the purpose of deceiving his subjects and of forestalling any future revolt on their part against his family. The fear of displeasing Seketoo, the sea-god and ancestor of Maatu may have secured the latter's authority and prevented the natives tired of his domination from quitting the island in frail canoes in search of new lands.

Those who may feel satisfied with this explanation might confirm it by saying that elephantiasis and diseases of the skin prove that the punishment occasioned by the murder of Seketoo is always upon the population. That such diseases exist and are the plague of the country I know from experience. I remember a kava in which I took part in Niua, while I was there some years ago on a protracted visit. We sat nine in all. With the exception of the two girls that were preparing the drink, we were all afflicted with elephantiasis. I think, however, that the marshes of the island were rather a more efficient cause of it than Seketoo.

However that may be, and although I may be called a simpleton for it, I will add that those conjectures concerning Seketoo deserve no credit, though I am disposed to believe that in his manifestations there is something mysterious and disquieting. Such as have dwelt a certain number of years in our islands know how difficult it is to dislodge the devil from his haunts. Now, at the close of the last century, he was absolute master of Niua Toputapu. If he was forced to yield ground, he did so reluctantly; and at all events was careful to leave deceitful snares behind him. And what can his apparent help prove in the case I have related of the *lali* of our Catholics? Absolutely nothing, if not that all means are good enough for him, so long as he can induce souls into error and ravish from God some of the honor and confidence which are His due.

Once when Father Thomas, S. M., was near Niuatoputapu, he saw Seketoo about his boat for more than two hours. He describes him as a large fish with changing colors. On another occasion Seketoo saved one of the members of the mission from drowning. Father Thomas, together with some natives, was proceeding on a raft which began to sink. When hope was lost, Seketoo appeared beneath the raft and buoyed it up until they reached shore safely.

The chief Maatu spoke of two rocks between Niuatoputapu and Samoa, called Fatukau and Fatukalapu, which were deified. They were the home of the god Fatuulu:

Fatuulu, in human form, used to come to Tafahi Island and give commands. His voice was heard to Niuatoputapu Island. A man who used to be his mouthpiece was named Toumaama, meaning "man near god (*ton*) spreader (of god's words)." He was the priest in the time of Ngongo (p. 285). There is a place on Tafahi to be seen now where Fatuulu stood. They never ate fish in Niuatoputapu until the god gave permission. If anyone ate before the god lifted the tapu that person died immediately on the first mouthful. This applied to all fish. Toumaama notified the people for the god. When the god came, Toumaama would tremble like a leaf, and would neither eat nor drink. The god came and went as he pleased. The tapu was put on or lifted as the god liked. The presence of the god is still evidenced by the fact that certain small fish (*balooma*) immediately leave if proper form is not observed in catching them.

When the god appeared in the priest, he uttered commands as to killing of pigs. Thunder and lightning accompanied the god as he walked over the ocean. The priest then became possessed, for the god came and entered into the priest. The face of the priest was all illuminated, his eyes staring. The people would hide when the god



appeared. When the priest became inspired he uttered the god's commands. The priest always became inspired at one particular place on Tafahi. There was no temple, however, but only a large rock which was also called Fatuulu. (The gods entered their priests only at certain places.) The ground at this rock was sacred. Any man who stood on it would die. Even a Maatu might not go there. Fatuulu commanded all the fish. The *kaloama* was not especially sacred to him. Fatuulu was the Otua Haa Maatu, that is, the god of the lineage of Maatu.

Maatu knew the place of another god but did not remember his name.

There was a god house. This god supported Maatu (Ikamafana II?) when he conquered Tafahi. Ngongo did some fighting, too. The god's house (43) was like a chief's house, except that it was closed in all around and the entrance was through a hole just under the caves, reached by climbing a tree. This god entered into Maatu himself; that is, into everyone of the line. The god that entered Maatu was different from those that entered priests. The reason the Niuatoputapuans were not conquered by the Tongatabuans was because this god stayed with them all the time. The difference between this god and Fatuulu was that this god was in Maatu all the time and never left him, while Fatuulu came from the rocks in the ocean to enter Toumaama. Maatu himself as embodying his god was a priest too. In battle, Maatu's god would run ahead of him in human form.

When a person became ill he was carried to Maatu's god's house and laid outside. If the person's sickness did not yield to medicines, a consultation of the family settled who would sacrifice a little finger for the sick person. This was done in the sick person's house, and the blood caught in a banana leaf and two outer finger joints placed in it. These were carried to the god's house. People would sit on the ground outside, cross-legged, hands clasped, heads bowed down. They put the offering on the ground while the priest looked down from the doorway. This is said to apply also to Fatuulu, who had a similar house. The priest would say, "It is well. The god has told me you may take this man back. He is well now. His sin is finished." Then they would all arise with the man that was sick and go home.

If the people went in the morning with sacrifice they might sit at the god's house all day until the god gave an answer. Having to sit there in the sun was something of a sacrifice itself. Each had to have a ragged mat around his waist and wear a necklace of Tahitian chestnut leaves.

A god's house might be in the bush. All was tapu around for a certain distance. People would not go near. No one went inside. In the house of Maatu's god were war implements, large white cowries, and a kava bowl. Shells, other than cowries, were strung spirally around the posts.

Seketoo did not have a priest because the transformation of the young chief to fish form took place so recently. Seketoo had no house. He was always a fish after his suicide. (26, p. 83.)

At times the priest would order a member of some family to be strangled. The reason might be that the person did not believe in the god. "In those days all were practically slaves to the gods." There were many other gods unknown to the informant, but all were afraid of Maatu's god. The pig was sacred to Maatu's god. People might kill and eat pigs only at the god's pleasure.

Offerings were not regularly made by the people. When the god wanted something the priest gave orders that it be brought. No excuse would be given for the demand.

## PRIESTS AND POSSESSION

Tongan priests and priestesses suggest Turkic shamans, inasmuch as they become inspired by the gods, by lesser spirits, and by the spirits of the ancestors of chiefs or of recently deceased chiefs. The resemblance to the shamans applies particularly to those Tongan priests who became inspired by the spirits of deceased human beings, who, it was believed, came from Puluotu to convey to the living certain messages. The resemblance becomes even clearer when it is recalled that the Tongans apparently regard the spirits of chiefs and gods as being essentially alike. In fact, at the present time both gods and ghosts are called *tevolo*. The term *ulusino* refers to possession by a god or spirit. Baker defines *ulusino* as "to be possessed by evil spirits; to dwell in the body; to be one with man, applied to the gods."

If the spirit that manifested itself in a priest or priestess was of human origin, it was invariably that of a great chief, such as the Tui Tonga, rather than the spirit of a person of inferior rank. It is said that those mediums who became animated by the spirits of dead Tui Tonga had no special house of worship. They would seem not to have been regular priests who were already dedicated to the service of some god, but rather individuals who suddenly became inspired by the spirit of the deceased. Mariner (40) gives examples.

Tongan priests and priestesses further resemble shamans at least superficially, in their supposed ability to cure illness, not, of course, through their own unaided efforts but through their intercession with the gods. The sick and infirm were brought to the houses of these priests when the gods were besought to cure them. Sacrifices were offered and oracles obtained through the priest who became inspired by the god, the oracle usually foretelling the course and result of the illness.

Priesthood appears normally to have remained in particular families, and it appears that either men or women might become inspired. Priests are known by the terms *taula otua*, *taula eiki*, *taula tevolo* (devil), *toumama*, *faahikehe*, and apparently *feaa*. The word *toumama* means in general "the people or worshippers of any given god." The term *feaa* given by Farmer (23, p. 128) may be but an abbreviated form of *faahikehe*, a term also meaning god, spirit, ghost. Presumably *faahikehe* was applied only to a possessed priest.

Apparently it is permissible to regard the Tongan deities as somewhat in the nature of a North American shaman's familiar, except, of course, that the American shaman's familiar or guardian spirit does not actually enter him and speak through him. In Tonga it was impossible to obtain information about guardian spirits other than family gods.

Some forms of illness, called to-day *faitoo fakatevolo*, are believed to be caused by a god or spirit entering the body of a person and thus making him ill. Special medicines and cabalistic signs made with the hands are employed today to dislodge such an unwelcome tenant. Another belief of the present time is that certain illness is caused by the god or spirit biting the sick person. Such an afflicted individual may say, "Nae tai au ehe tevolo" (The devil has bitten me). I have heard it said that sometimes the discomfort caused by over-indulgence in liquor is attributed to a divine visitation.

Middle age is the most popular period of life at which a person becomes a medium for a god or spirit, although sometimes the deities and spirits manifest themselves through younger men and women, but never through children. Anciently, the god manifested himself through the successor of a priest, but only after the death of the old priest. Usually priesthood passed from father to son, but sometimes the deity or spirit entered some other person unexpectedly. That person would inform the Tui Tonga of the fact and would then be appointed to the priesthood. The priest of Pulotu Katoa was always appointed by the Tui Tonga, and presumably some other priests were too, although it is not unlikely that many were appointed by the chiefs of the families or lineages for whom they officiated. The priests of Tonga did not form an association or brotherhood, as each seems to have worked independently of his colleagues. This state of affairs is attested by the absence of organized resistance to Christianity. The Tui Tonga was declared emphatically by all informants, including Rose Fatafehi, son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga, not to be a priest, in spite of the statement of certain early writers to the effect that he was the high priest of Tonga. My informants pointed out that the Tui Tonga did appoint priests to represent the gods and especially the priests of Pulotu Katoa, but that he himself was no priest.

Though the informant Tamale thought that the term *toumama* applied only to priestesses and that *taula* applied to priests, there seem to be no data to substantiate his opinion. Another informant said that the stem *mama* refers to the will of the god. This same informant gave another term for priest, namely, *fakahaaleanga*. No other informant, however, gave this term and it may be therefore another rare synonym for *taula otua*. Ana Manu of Haapai gave the term *fakafafonga* (representative) for priestess.

Each lineage seems to have had a deity with a presiding priest who had in charge the *fakafaanga* or precious and sacred possessions of its god. Part of the *fakafaanga* were fine mats which constituted a form of wealth. One mat in particular was kept folded and on the occasion of the appearance of the god was spread out for him to rest upon. This mat was treated virtually as a shrine. It might not be disposed of under pain of death at

the hands of the god. Moreover, standing in each god's house there were, 778  
in addition to the mats, wooden war weapons and other objects which were [688]  
painted yellow with turmeric. Some of the wooden objects standing in the  
god's house seem to have been more or less rudely shaped into human form,  
although there is no evidence that they were regarded as idols.

Offerings of finger joints or human lives, or of food were presented to 782  
the god whose aid was sought through the priest. Prayer, at fire lighting [71]  
in the evening, is reported for Samoa, but appears not to have been practiced  
in Tonga. Kava, however, was poured out on the ground as an offering [276]  
to the gods in heathen times. Before engaging in warfare, boxing, wrestling, [726]  
or other athletic contest, each contestant would throw a bit of kava, called [526]  
*mesini*, over the fence into the enclosure of his patron deity, to procure the  
protection of the god.

Other individuals, as well as priests, seem to have been the repositories 538  
of stories concerning the gods. These stories are called *talatupua*, the name 773  
apparently containing the stem *tupu* which refers to the original  
gods as distinguished from disembodied human spirits. The word *talanoa*  
refers to old-time stories, but not necessarily those that deal with the gods.  
The enclosure in which a priest's or god's house stood was often referred to 778  
grandiloquently as *lotoolahi* (inside the great fence). The houses of the 346  
priests and gods seem to have borne especial names, as well as the tracts  
upon which they stood. For example, Falemanaia applied to a god-house  
at Makave, Vavau Island. The site where the Falemanaia stood is now  
marked by an irregular mound about 4 feet high. Other temple names are  
mentioned above.

Certain of the priests seem not only to have exercised the usual priestly 793  
functions of medium for the god, but seem also to have been at times the 764  
caretakers of adjacent cemeteries. Thus, the priest who resides at Fiehua,  
the shrine of the god Finautauiku, was also the caretaker of the cemetery  
Loamanu, wherein the Tui Haa Takalaua were buried, and where small  
carved wooden figures are said to have been set up at graves. It was sug-  
gested by the priest Kautae that they were purely decorative, which would  
bear out Cook's observation of the lack of respect bestowed upon them  
(66, p. xlix).

Each lineage, represented by its chief or head, had a god who was wor- 776  
shipped by all members of the lineage. Children worshipped the god of 613  
their father and commonly the wife adopted the worship of the god of her [593]  
husband. Sometimes, when a god was believed to be incarnate in some bird, [825]  
a bird of that particular species would be kept in the house of the chief of  
the lineage.

Gods seem not to have been connected with settlements or districts, but  
to have been connected only with groups of people; that is, with patri-

lineal lineages. Thus, it is proper to speak only of the gods of chiefs and of lineages not of the gods of localities. Often more than one god was attached to a lineage. Thus the head of the Haa Takalaua might be under the protection of a great god like Finautauiku. All members of the lineage were likewise under that god's protection, and in addition, certain members of the lineage might have lesser gods as their patrons. 776 613

Aside from Tangaloa Tufunga, the patron of carpenters, I could learn of no occupational deities. The attachment of a god to the head of a family might give the appearance of occupational deities. Thus, the head of a matapule family, which practiced carpentering, or functioned as undertakers, might have a certain deity as his patron, but as the patron of the family rather than of the occupation. 776 463 592

Not only did the priest of a lineage or family act as a medium between the lineage and the gods, but also as a medium between the lineage and the spirits of its dead. Offerings were made to these spirits by the family through the priest. It was thought that these ancestors could cause illness, a belief which doubtless led to the making of propitiatory offerings. However, other more direct and retaliatory means were sometimes resorted to. The grave of the offending ancestor might be broken open, the bones taken out and beaten, and imprecations uttered. To avoid sickness caused by the spirit of the deceased relative or ancestor, Tongans did not pass through or near graveyards at night. It was thought that the spirits of ancestors sometimes became visible. Thus, at Tatakamotonga in Tongatabu, a light, supposed to be Tukuaho's spirit (*faahikehe*), is sometimes seen at the spot where the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho was murdered in 1799. Not only families headed by chiefs, but also those headed by matapule, had patron gods. Some families of commoners had a household or patron deity. The family of the great matapule Motuapuaka had the god Haele Feke as its patron. This god became incarnate in the octopus and there was a tapu against Motuapuaka's people eating that animal. A Methodist minister named Malupo, who is a member of Motuapuaka's lineage, even to-day gets a headache when he eats octopus. This god sometimes manifested himself in the priest, who conveyed verbally the messages of the god, and upon the withdrawal of the god shook so violently, that people must rush to him and hold him, in order that he might not injure himself. 793 775 769 763 753 753 764 775 776 565 592 825 784 762 776 793 787

The patron deity of the Tui Tonga is reported by Farmer (23) to have been Hikuleo. The patron deity of the Tui Haa Takalaua and of the great chief Tungi, was Finautauiku and the officiating priest was Moheki-fiehua. The patron deity of the Tui Kanokupolu was Taliai Tupou whose priest was called Totohoumafisi. Tui Ahau was by some informants declared to be another manifestation of Taliai Tupou, by other informants a separate deity. Tui Ahau was regarded as a patron of the Tui Kano- 776 643



kupolu. A deity named Malua Taufua was also mentioned as a patron of the Tui Kanokupolu. The priest Totohoumafisi resided not in western Tongatabu, but at Tatakamotonga, adjoining the Tui Tonga's capital of Lapaha. The tract upon which Taliai Tupou's temple was situated, and wherein Totohoumafisi resided, was called Kavaui. The nearby residence of the Tui Kanokupolu at Tatakamotonga, as well as at his residence at Kolo-vai in the Hihifo district, was called Langakali. The patron deity of the lineage Haa Fakafanua, and of the chief of that lineage who was called Fakafanua, was the gecko god Tui Haa Fakafanua. He is today referred to in the inelegant phraseology of "Fakafanua's devil". His principal seat is at Maufanga, Tongatabu, where Fakafanua resides.

The patron deity of the chief Nuku, the head of the Haa Latu Hifo, was Pulotu Katoa. His priest was Vakaahi. Mofutaetau was a patron deity of the chief Tamale who resided at Niutoua, Tongatabu. The god Taufaitahi was the patron of both Taufaaahau, afterwards King George I, and of the great chief Tungi. His priest is named Kautae, the incumbent in 1921 having been appointed by the present Tungi. The chief Valu of Utulau, Tongatabu, was under the patronage of the god Kaifakaau.

None of the priests of the gods seem themselves to have actually officiated at sacrifices, thus differing very markedly from the priests of the Aztec gods of Mexico who were the executioners of the sacrificial victims. Sacrifice in Tonga seems always to have been made by the supplicants. In the sacrifice of neither an infant nor an older person, did the priest garrot the victim with the strangling cord; this was done by the victim's own relatives. The same was true of finger sacrifices.

The term *momoi* means to present an offering or sacrifice. The one who offers the sacrifice is called *moihu*, a term which also has the significance of mediator and as such also applies in a way to the priest.

#### HUMAN SACRIFICE

Amputation of a little finger was a widespread practice in the eighteenth century, and was noted by Tasman (30, p. 27) also in 1643. In 1921 but one person was living who had undergone this sacrifice. The informant, Rose Fatafehi, had witnessed the sacrifice of a little finger to the god Tui Haa Fakafanua.

Cook recounts (18, vol. 1, p. 222):

A still more singular custom prevails in these isles: We observed that the greatest part of the people, both men and women, had lost one, or both their little fingers. We endeavored, but in vain, to find out the reason of this mutilation; for no one would take any pains to inform us. It was neither peculiar to rank, age, or sex; nor is it done at any certain age, as I saw those of all ages on whom the amputation had been just made; and, except some young children, we found few who had both hands per-



## SANCTUARIES

According to one prominent informant, all Tongan god-houses were sanctuaries to which a fugitive might flee. There seem, however, to have been certain sanctuaries which were particularly noted as places of refuge (*hufanga* or *fale hufanga*) (p. 300). A sanctuary which was violated by pursuers of a fugitive was spoken of as "leaky." For a detailed discussion of the physical features of sanctuaries, see McKern (42). 778

By far the most famous sanctuary in the whole kingdom was Fanakava, which, however, differed from the others in that it was only a green (*malae*) upon which there were no buildings, but only a few *ouava* trees. Fanakava was situated near the present Catholic graveyard of Loma in Lapaha, the Tui Tonga's residence in Tongatabu. Adjacent to the green of Fanakava was the tract called Fiehua in which was situated the house of the god Finautauiku. This house was also a sanctuary for fugitives.

Fanakava was the only place of its kind in all Tonga, being not merely the green of the Tui Tonga, but possessing peculiar traditional status as a place of refuge under the power of the Tui Tonga. No god was associated with it, nor was there a priest or other person associated with it in any official capacity. The green, however, was sometimes used by the Tui Tonga for kava parties. It is said that Fanakava was not even surrounded by a fence, but was a wholly open green. There is reputed to be also a Fanakava in Pulotu, the unseen world, of which the earthly Fanakava in Tongatabu is a duplicate. [775]

In the island of Haano in Haapai is a tract called Fanakava occupied by the temple of the deity Hikuleo (p. 291). This and the fact that there is a mythical Fanakava in Hikuleo's realm of Pulotu raises the question as to whether the Fanakava in Lapaha was not really associated with that deity, especially since Hikuleo was the reputed patroness of the Tui Tonga. The word Fanakava occurs quite often as a place name in Tonga (25, p. 56). [103]

Most sanctuaries had enclosing fences, within which was situated the house of the presiding deity, the house being occupied by the officiating priest or priestess. [346]

Another especially famous sanctuary was that of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua, at Maufanga, Tongatabu, one of the three principal sanctuaries which had the reputation of being non-leaky. By one informant this sanctuary with its presiding deity was regarded as subsidiary to the sanctuary of the god Finautauiku at Lapaha. It was said that the Lapaha god, who was a chief amongst the gods, sent the lesser deity, Tui Haa Fakafanua, to preside at Maufanga and to establish there a sanctuary. With the exception of two or three commoners who were buried within the sanctuary at the orders of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua, possibly as sacrifices, people were not buried within the enclosure of the sanctuary, according to the matapule 776 778

Kama, who was residing in Maufanga in 1921. Kama said also that there were no carved images within the sanctuary, and that no god other than Tui Haa Fakafanua presided there. 778  
[776]

When Vahai's army came to Maufanga (about 1800), all the people had fled to the bush, leaving one cat, which Vahai took. He burnt the houses and the temple and the sanctuary of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua. Later when the chief Fakafanua refused to become a Christian, Taufaaahau also burned Maufanga, including temple and sanctuary. Fakafanua had removed his people to Pea, as he thought he could not withstand Taufaaahau at Maufanga. He removed all in a double vessel (*kalia*) to Pea at the suggestion of the chief Lavaka of Pea. This was presumably on the occasion of the siege of Pea in 1852. 778  
669  
[797]  
[722]

Another famous sanctuary, with which is connected a remarkable story of devotion (p. 300), was that of the god Taufaitahi in Tatakamotonga. Other sanctuaries of less importance but still worthy of mention were situated on the island of Ofu, Vavau, at Makave, at Feletoa, and at Tofoa, all in Vavau. The sanctuary at Makave bore the high sounding name Tongamopulotu (Tonga and Pulotu). All of these Vavau sanctuaries had surrounding fences and each had within it the house of the presiding deity and priest. 778

#### SACRED ANIMALS

Of the various sacred animals of the Tongan deities, only one, the flying fox, seems still to maintain a certain degree of sanctity, and in only one specific locality, the village of Kolovai, in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu. They are regarded as connected with the chief Ata rather than with the whole Haa Ngata Motua. Ata stated to me that the flying foxes and the flying fox god Pekapekaatama were not always connected with the Ata chieftainship, but that they were formerly sacred to the matapule Ula. They were transferred to Ata in the time of the great-grandfather of the present Ata. Ata thinks this transfer took place after Christianity had been established and was made "just for fun." Collocott, however, thinks that the transfer had been made in pre-Christian times. 778  
825  
776

Collocott (9, p. 230) gives a brief account of the flying fox god. The chief Ata may not shoot the flying foxes, but Tungi and Albert Tupou, who are *fahu* to Kolovai may do so if they wish. [604]

At this time it is difficult to say to what extent similar tapus for other sacred animals were observed in antiquity. A shellfish called *fuhu* was said also to be sacred to Ata, being at times the incarnation of a god, whose name I did not learn.

Other sacred animals of importance were the white tern sacred to Aloalo, the gecko sacred to Tui Haa Fakafanua, the shark sacred to Taufa, the octopus sacred to Haele Feke, the dog sacred to Pulotu Katoa, the fruit dove sacred to Kafoiaatu, and the herons sacred to Sisi and Faingaa.

Tasman (30, p. 32) mentions the respect paid to the sea snake: "I have seen one of these persons take up a water-snake which came floating by his prow, lay it upon his head with great reverence, and then put it into the water again."

Neither the large green tree lizard called *fokai*, nor the pretty little skink called *pili*, seem to have been sacred to any god.

#### MANA

The word "mana" in Tongan means "miracle, thunder; to bewitch, to cause something to happen to another." Apparently the Tongan concept of mana differs from the Melanesian concept, inasmuch as the power is not believed to be resident in stones and other natural objects which can be placed in a plantation or on the reef to secure success in horticultural or fishing operations. To be sure, if a man's yams grow well and his pigs multiply, it is said that he has mana, but the mana is due to the favor of a god, or gods, not to an impersonal supernatural power. Ghosts and departed relatives were never the source of mana in Tonga, but only the *tupui otua* or original gods. Conversely, loss of mana is due to conduct displeasing to a god.

A son can inherit his father's mana only by following his father's conduct. Should the son err, the mana may leave him, being bestowed upon another man. To-day it is thought that mana attaches to a good Christian, especially a clergyman (*faisekau*). A man, poor but a good Christian, who is quickly blessed with plenty, has had mana bestowed upon him by God. A person who fails to achieve success does so because of the non-bestowal of mana upon him, which is no more visible than is a god, its presence being manifested by an abundance of world's goods. One informant gave the term *mofi* (to astonish, to cause fear) as the word describing the power of a god, which is probably to a large extent equivalent to mana.

One informant took pains to emphasize that faith in the gods, not offerings, was the necessary prerequisite to the acquisition of mana. Other informants said that prayer and sacrifice to the gods were necessary. A person who is endowed with mana is called a *monuia* (lucky person), a term based on the stem *monu* (lucky).

The term *manahi* (obviously based on the stem *mana*) means anger. If a father were angry ("wild") at a son for two or three years, the son would be likely to sicken and die. The father, however, could make him well again by forgiving him and touching the son's body with his hands. Presumably the same result would follow from the anger of any superior relative. Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu, had the following to say:

The following translation of an old text refers to the destiny of souls 775  
in ancient times, but without reference to rank:

It was said by the people in olden times, that when this body died it [evidently the soul and not the physical body is meant] went at once to Pulumotu. When they [the souls] got there, Hikuleo (the ruler of Pulumotu) chose some as posts for his fence, and some as supports for the log on which tapa is made, and some were taken as posts for the gate of Hikuleo's fence, etc."

Souls in Pulumotu were thought to have earthly appearance though they are only shadows. The souls or spirits of chiefs (including the Tui Tonga) were thought to go to Pulumotu, identified with the Underworld (Lolofonua) by some modern Tongans. The soul of a commoner was supposed to appear 775 as an insect on a tapa or mat specially spread after the burial. The tapa 825 was spread in the house where the commoner died and the watchers sat 565 about until an insect appeared thereon, when the mat was carefully folded and tied near the ceiling of the house and never again examined. This appearance of the soul of the deceased was called *fakahaale laumalie*. The souls of chiefs never appeared in insect or other animal form.

Now and then the soul of a very great man might manifest itself 775 through a priest. Ideas about reincarnation of the deceased were rare, though a story is told of a dying man who told his weeping children that he would return as a white man to care for them. Another account relates that a woman's soul, incarnate in a rat, came to visit her child. Another 825 woman's soul was said to be incarnate in a large lizard (26, p. 108). Normally, only the gods, and not the souls of men, became incarnate, in animals. The souls or spirits of men might return to this earth, however, as indicated in a narrative and poem recorded by Collocott (16, p. 96).

The term for ghosts (*faahikehe*)—also applied to the gods, to the soul, 774 and (or) the spirit—is a generic term for spiritual beings and means literally "different side or different half of anything divided" (in contrast to 775 human beings). Baker defines *faahikehe* as "the name for all the Tonga 196 gods; an evil spirit." One informant likened a *faahikehe* to an image in a mirror, describing it as something seen but incapable of being grasped. One informant gave the word *otua* (god) as an occasional term for ghost. The 793 word *faahikehe* is also applied to the priest, apparently when possessed by 787 the god. This usage prevailed in Mariner's time (41, vol. 2, p. 80), as well as to-day.

Some sickness is believed to be due to possession by a ghost. The treat- 775 ment is to drink an infusion of certain leaves called *lautilu* and to have the 753 infusion massaged on the body as well. When the ghost is thus driven out 787 the patient cries bitterly, "because sorry to part with the ghost." The 755 infusion may be used as a prophylactic against possession. 757

Soul catching was practiced under certain circumstances: If a murder or theft was committed and the perpetrator of it was not known, the people assembled at the place of the crime and fanned around it to drive the perpetrator's soul to the house of the local priest. The priest had a net prepared at his residence with which to catch the soul of the culprit. Finally it was captured in the form of a butterfly or other insect and wrapped in tapa. Then the priest made known to the people the man who committed the crime. The relatives of this man cooked pigs, yams, and other food, which they brought to the priest together with tapa and mats. They besought the priest to return the culprit's soul. If the priest was obdurate, the man died. [761]

Perhaps related to the concept of death through soul capture is the belief that a chief or superior relative can pray a person to death. The father's sister's prayer is the most efficacious. The term *hufi* denotes one who prays another to death as well as the act of praying to death, although the word has the broader meaning of "intercession." Praying to death is said to have been frequent. Some god is appealed to: "Oku ou kele atu. . . . ofa ke mate. . . ." (I beg you [the god] that [So and So] shall die). The term *fakamalaia* means to curse, to anathematize, to cause a curse. *Kape* and *tatao* are malevolent charms of which Mariner (41, vol. 1, p. 424; vol. 2, p. 226) gives examples. [761]

So far as could be learned, the Tongans did not conceive of plants and animals having souls. In fact one informant, familiar with Fiji, contrasted Fiji with Tonga in this regard. The only indication of animism is in certain animal tales in which the octopus, rat, and ant are endowed with conversational abilities (26, pp. 206, 207). The fact that the gods used animals as their temporary incarnations, "the boat of the god," was of course no manifestation of animism. [771]

Independent of the *tuuola*, or apparition idea, is the belief that the soul can leave the body while the person is in an unconscious state and can wander at will, as for example to Pulu (26, pp. 153-155). The *tuuola* is visible and the appearance is reported by an observer; the disembodied soul's adventures are not observed by another, but are subjectively recorded.

The notes which follow were recorded by Mr. W. H. Murley, while he was residing in the Haapai Islands of Lifuka, Foa, and Haano:

You know the girl Hina? Well, when she was but a tiny thing her mother Topinisa was taken ill and gradually got worse and in no very long time she was taken to a new and hastily constructed house to end her days, as is our custom. One day whilst Hina was sleeping in her hanging bed, her father Ungakotu, now dead, was lying on his sleeping mat with a bamboo pillow under his head. He was not asleep, however, and presently he saw the head of a big rat. It was neither a *kuma papalaugi* (European rat) nor a Tongan rat, appearing over the top of one of the posts that support the roof. He watched and gradually it crawled down the post with its eyes fixed on Hina's bed. Hina's father gently shifted his position and resting

or next week or what is happening at the time in some distant place. Apparently *kikite* also applies to the prophecies by the priest of a god who is believed to enter the priest and speak through his mouth. It applies to the prophetic principle in the omen birds as well. It was said by one informant that the *kikite* "talk" like a skink, that is, that they speak with a sort of squeak or lisp or whisper. One informant stated that *kikite* prophesy, but *tongafisi* tell what is taking place at the present moment at a distant place. 787

The term *tongafisi* refers to both the observation of signs and omens as well as to the interpreters of these. People who did not have a god of whom to make inquiries would seek signs in animal movements, the blood of animals, and the flow of blood from sacrificed finger joints. For no blood to flow from the finger joint was a very bad sign, no doubt for the sick person. Hepatoscopy was apparently not practiced.

One famous *tongafisi* was reputed to be able to determine the approximate location of a vessel at sea by feeling of the water. He would then announce, "Samoa sea," "Niuafuou sea," or whatever it might be. The term *kikite* seems to apply to the ability of the *tongafisi* to predict, as when a blind man informed the king the time at which his pet bird, long overdue from Ata Island, would get back.

The term *tongafisi* was analyzed by one informant as *tonga* (south), *fisi* (to have idea about). If this is the true etymology it possibly refers to the reputed discovery of Ata Island, ninety miles south of Tongatabu, by the famous *tongafisi* Hama, of Eua Island, whose achievements are recorded by Collocott (16, p. 52). Two other achievements of Hama were the reporting to the people of Eua the progress of a club fight in Tongatabu, many miles away; and the reporting to the Tui Haa Takalaua of the daily location of his beloved pet tropic bird, which had strayed away to Samoa, but which returned as Hama predicted.

Modern informants have translated Hama from the realm of mortals to that of the gods, as the following remarks by one of my Lifuka informants show: 776 787

The god Haele Fekē tried to kill Hama the *tongafisi* of Eua, because Hama had the goddess Tafakula as a friend. Hama was the first *tongafisi* because he informed Tafakula when Samoan gods were trying to steal Kao Island. Hama was a "god and man" (*otua mo tangata*) because he knew everything that would happen. Hama, however, succumbed like ordinary mortals. Everybody made presents to him, because of his wonderful powers.

Discovery of a wrong-doer and thereby often the cause of illness, was made anciently in Tonga through the medium of coconut spinning. This casting of lots was called *taniu*. The following tale about Ofa, the son of the chief Takeleveka of Eua Island, is a good illustration of the method: 787



Certain natural phenomena, though not being regarded as ominous, sometimes caused alarm. Earthquakes were believed to be caused by the movements of one of the Maui who is thought to support the earth. The apparent movement of the sun to the northern tropic was observed, though not the motive for alarm or ceremony. When the sun was farthest north the season was called *faahi tau momoko* (cold season). It marked the beginning of the year and the time of yam planting. When the sun was at the southern tropic the season was called *faahi tau mafana* (warm season). 787 [823] 821

An expected eclipse of the moon which occurred in October, 1920, though causing no alarm, was regarded as indication of strong wind in a few days. The moon eclipse is called *mate mahina* (death of the moon). Similarly an eclipse of the sun is called *mate laa*. Apparently the infrequency of sun eclipses is one reason why they cause alarm. One occurred in 1918 and was evidently the first seen by many people. Although they had been forewarned by a visiting astronomer, intense alarm prevailed. The informant who had never seen one before, and who was in the bush at the time, ran for his village as fast as possible. He said the ancient belief was that the sun was a god and was angry with people and showed anger by going out. Evidently some of this belief still survived in 1918. 787 [776]

The activities of certain birds and lizards were believed to be especially pregnant with indications of forthcoming events. The Tongans, even to-day, take cognizance of these movements to an extent that suggests the Malaysian observation of animal movements. The gecko (*moko*) is everywhere in Tonga an omen animal. It is regarded particularly as a barometer of impending weather conditions. If it remains quiet, good weather is indicated, if it is very active, a storm is imminent. This little lizard, sacred to the god Tui Haa Fakafanua, was taken aboard vessels anciently as a barometer. Another weather indicator is the frigate bird (*lofa*), rare in Tonga, whose appearance presages a gale or hurricane. The barking of dogs at night without evident cause is a sign of the presence of ghosts. Dogs bore place and personal names anciently and were fondled and talked to by their masters (usually chiefs). There was no belief that it was dangerous to address conversation to a dog. 787 825 825 821 787 [775] [521]

Birds played by far the most important part as omen givers. The calling of the owl (*ulu*) immediately after lamp-lighting is a sign of a pregnant woman in the house, and if the owl calls over a house in the middle of the night, it is a sign of impending death. If the gallinule (*kalae*) cries close to a house, it is also considered a notification of impending death. A number of *fuleheu* birds (*Ptilotis carunculata*) flying together in a particular formation is called *fata* (bier) and is a sign of death. Another evil omen of the *fuleheu*, called *sipa*, consists in a number of them sounding the note of alarm. If a cock crows, soon after the time when the fowls 787 825 763 [843]

sees many things in a muddled dream they do not come true. The period that elapses between a dream and its fulfilment is variable—it may be a week or it may be several months. 787  
828

A sickness called *fafanga*, which is manifested by a "bad stomach" and results in "doubling up" or even death, is caused by dreaming that a man comes and feeds the dreamer pork, fowl, and other rich food. 753

A sickness called *takini*, painful urination, is believed to be caused by the frequent dreaming of sexual intercourse. The belief is that the visitant of the dreamer is a spirit (*tevolo*). 753  
831  
776

## MAGIC

Most of the extant magical practices are to be found in the formulas of the *faitoo* (doctors). Material presented here includes odds and ends of magical practices not largely concerned with curing. Malevolent magic is still practiced. Spoken words were believed to be effective too. Thus the term *talatukii* means to curse, to use imprecations so deadly and horrible, that the person against whom they were directed usually died from the effect. 789  
755  
754

Any medicine man or woman was called *faitoo*. The house of a *faitoo* was called *falehangatamaki*. One informant said that this house was only that of a *faitoo* who treated boils and skin eruptions, and this statement is probably correct, as *hanga-tamaki* means any sickness or disease appearing upon the surface of the body. When confronted with a sickness about whose diagnosis he was in doubt, a *faitoo* passed his hands over the diseased part, repeating a formula which named every possible disease known and directed the medicine to cure any one or all of them. (See p. 343.) 756

When collecting the bark of the *tava* and *siale* (*Gardenia*) for medicine the collector always observes which part is towards the setting sun and collects the bark from that side. It is believed to be particularly efficacious, though no reason was given. 757

One informant stated that his father had buried his umbilical cord and planted a coconut over it. As the tree flourished, so would the individual. I could get no corroboration of this as a practice. No other account of tree planting was obtained. Possibly fear that the tree might be killed and the person suffer make people reticent. 789  
825  
846

The story of the turtle Sangone mentions the magical stopping of growth and retention of childhood by striking a child on the top of the head (26, p. 50). 789

When a child's milk tooth is extracted it is thrown on the roof of a house, so that the second tooth will grow quickly. At the same time this rhyme is said: 784  
836

Hinehina matailaila  
Omai hoo nifo kovi mooku  
Kae o atu hoo nifo felei moou.

White with spots  
Give me your bad tooth  
But have a good tooth for yourself.

539  
538

That there is a ceremonial or lucky number in Tonga I did not definitely ascertain. That there was, or is, such a number seems likely and it may 777

be ten. Ten heads as trophies, or ten enemies slain, was the aim of each warrior. Ten sharks taken relieved fishing-canoe owners from further ceremonial observances. Ten constituted the winning number of points in dart-throwing (*sika*) and bowling (*fakateka*). 777

The term *tukutuku taumuli* is to make a new boat lucky. Whether it is an actual object or merely a ceremonial act, I did not learn.

Fishermen doubtless had many magical practices in connection with their profession. The following is a fisherman's call, bidding the fish to partake of the bait: 789 226

|                                       |                                               |                |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|----------------|
| E kai mai, kai mai,                   | O, eat there! eat there!                      | [539]<br>[538] |
| E tuona, faona, kai ho'o feke kuo oai | O pull, stretch, eat your masticated octopus, |                |
| mama,                                 | O pull, pull steady, stretch there, eat there |                |
| E tuona, tuo tuona, faona mai kai ma, | O eat there!                                  |                |
| Kai mai e.                            |                                               |                |

Whether the call is used for shark fishing, I cannot say, but at any rate, the fishermen talk to the shark, directing its actions and soliciting its help. Often the shark is called Hina and is perhaps identified with that deity (26, p. 183).

The sea slug (*mulione*) when taken, is split in half along its lateral edge and the upper half thrown back into the water with the belief that a new slug will grow from it.

Weak children, when weaned, are fed on rats and cats to get back their strength, as these animals are said to be long lived and hard to kill. The same idea is involved in the use of the word *kuma* (rat) as a personal name for a child who nearly dies at birth. The name Kuma is believed to preserve his life. 789 825 855 262

To-day there is a certain amount of belief in witchcraft. A wizard or witch is called a *fakalouakau* (*louakau*, leaf; *lou*, leaf; *akau*, a tree or medicine). It seems likely, therefore, that interpreted literally *fakalouakau* means a person who operates with leaf medicine. The accounts of two informants which I obtained in 1920 stress the use of leaves in witchcraft. 754

An informant in Lifuka Island, Haapai, said that the sorcerer operates with different kinds of leaves rolled in a ball and wrapped in tapa, the ball being placed in the dwelling house or somewhere in the plantation of the victim to encompass his sickness and death or to cause his crops to fail. As the leaves in the ball rotted the victim was believed to sicken.

The second informant (or rather, pair of informants, a man and wife), interviewed on the island of Nomuka, Haapai, said that the aid of a *tevolo* was necessary for success in witchcraft. A man who became a wizard went into the bush and prepared a bamboo tube in which he put the leaves. The informant said that if a person steals up close to the wizard he will hear 754 776

him talking to the *tevolo*, and if surprised at his work in the bush he will either make a wizard of his unwelcome visitor or else cause him to sicken and die. The informant also said that if a sorcerer is reported to his fellow townsmen he may be killed by anyone who wishes, and his relatives dare not avenge his death. 754 [776] [682] [683]

The two Nomuka informants said that although people were bewitched by means of leaves in the possession of the sorcerer, that there were other ways of accomplishing the result, as follows:

The sorcerer may carry leaves of the various sorts, usually pulverized, inside of a bamboo tube, the powdered material to be placed in cigarettes for the victim, or the sorcerer may carry the tube of pulverized leaves under his belt ready for use. Perhaps he sits beside his victim laughing and smoking in apparent friendliness and when opportunity offers points the cane secretly at his victim. This is enough to cause the victim's death in a day or two. Another method is to bury the bamboo tube, with the poison in it before the victim's door or under his bed. A sorcerer discovered in the act would be killed at once. Sometimes the sorcerer takes a cigarette butt thrown away by the victim, and puts it with the deadly leaves, and buries it whole where the victim perhaps is planting yams. [683]

Sorcery of this nature is said to be non-effective against Caucasians, because they eat more salt than Tongans. The two Nomuka informants knew of none of their relatives being bewitched, but said that they had heard of witchcraft among other people. [609] [186]

Once a person is bewitched only the sorcerer can save him. The victim may suspect the sorcerer and visit him or get his relatives to, in order to beg for mercy. If the sorcerer relents he either exposes the bamboo tube to the sun or he changes the contents of the tube. If he makes a mistake in changing the leaves, he, as well as the victim, dies. [755]

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following anecdote concerning an attempt at causing death by supernatural aid, at Lifuka Island, Haapai, about 1915. 754 [597] [685]

Whilst busy packing bananas, the other day, a native named Malakai came running into the yard and asked whether his stepson Lisala was there and if he had been packing bananas. On being told that he had filled a couple of cases and had gone to get more bananas, he demanded wildly to see the stalks of Lisala's bunches and on somebody's pointing them out he declared that they were stolen from his plantation. Taking one of the stalks in his hand and waving it around his head dramatically, he announced his intention of going and placing it in the church, in order to cause the sudden and painful death of his stepson. While he was declaring thus, his wife—the mother of Lisala—came on the scene, and pleaded forgiveness for the wayward son. At last the mother's entreaties prevailed and the two went off together. Immediately after their departure Lisala came out of hiding from the back of the copra shed and calmly filled up another case with stolen bananas.

#### SICKNESS FROM SUPERNATURAL CAUSES

Misdeeds on the part of a member of a family are believed to result in afflictions for one or more other members of the family, as illustrated by the two following modern occurrences. (See also 11, pp. 136-142.) 753

A woman whose husband had recently died came with her children to a missionary. She said the children were sickly. Consumption appeared the obvious trouble, but she wanted the missionary to pray with them, maintaining that there was a curse somewhere. She had learned from conversation in their village that the children's grandfather had had a pact (held the book, *puke tohi*) with his *tuofefine* (sister or female cousin) and had concluded that this was the reason for all the disaster. 753 [64]

A man had been sick for sometime, and so all his family were cross-examined as to their acts. It developed that one of his sons had gone to Niuafoou some time before with his cousin's wife. He was supposed to look after her on the voyage and performed his duties too tenderly. That was the reason of his father's illness, so it was thought, but whether the son's confession did the old man any good was not learned. 835

On page 334 I have recounted an incident in which the child of a Tui Tonga became ill because of the intrigue of its mother, while the Tui Tonga was in Haapai. Certain other acts were believed to have serious consequences for one doing them. (See pp. 18, 118, 335, 343, 344.) 837

Dreams of a certain type are believed to cause certain ailments. (See p. 337.) 828

To kill the white tern when on a voyage is believed to bring illness. To point at a rainbow, or at the setting sun, is believed to give one elephantiasis in the arm. It is not injurious, however, to look at a rainbow. 825 [821]

If women, bathing in a certain pool or passing near the western cemetery at Maufanga, Tongatabu, saw a gecko, they said that Tui Haa Fakafanua (a god who becomes incarnate in the *gecko*) had entered one of them because he liked her. Pining away and death were the result. Even today, when a girl at Maufanga dies, it is often said that Tui Haa Fakafanua has caused her death. Convent girls from the Hahake district of Tongatabu are said to be particularly liable to such attacks because the Hahake people and the Maufanga people were formerly at enmity. 753 776 [761]

Other gods or demons were also believed to enter into living persons and cause illness. To drive out such an unwelcome tenant, the affected part of the body was tightly held and massaged, working the demon to an extremity of the body to force him out, at the same time using magic words. 755

In November, 1920, there occurred an alleged attack by the spirit of a dead man. 753 775

A number of girls from the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, were gathering shellfish at Anana, in the lagoon at Tongatabu. One of the girls said that she was attacked by the spirits of three of her deceased relatives, who approached her in a boat while she was standing on the reef. Her symptoms were bleeding from the nose and cramps in the legs, and she declared that her deceased mother's brother, David Alatoa, struck her on the nose. The attack was of course not seen by her companions.

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following: 763 775

A man from Vavau, a short time ago, died suddenly in a village called Fakakakai in Haapai from hemorrhage of the lungs. A man from the village came into the store on the day he died and was discussing the matter with a woman from here (Pukotala) in the course of which she said that he (the deceased) might have been struck by evil spirits and then enquired if he had any relatives buried here. The answer was that his mother had died in Fakakakai, on hearing this the woman immediately said, "There, that is the reason of his sudden death." 765

For an inferior person (petty chief, matapule, or commoner) to walk by a chief's house smoking is an affront; also riding horseback, carrying an umbrella, wearing a turban (*fa'u*), or having a garland (*sisi*) around the neck, although a *sisi* around the waist is permitted. Conversation must stop in passing a chief's house. Breaches are subject to punishment by thrashing, often by the chief himself. The conception of a supernatural punishment seems not to be entertained. 784  
565  
[521]  
[689]

The Hihifo district of Tongatabu is tapu. No one is allowed to sing or to yell, either in settlements or in the bush. Drums may not be beaten. People must not run about in the town, and all must wear ragged mats (*tao-vala*) as signs of humility. These rules are enforced because of the Tui Kanokupolu and are observed in Hihifo whether the Tui Kanokupolu is in Hihifo or in Nukualofa. Again no supernatural punishment followed a breach of these rules. 784  
643

#### OCCUPATIONAL CEREMONIAL

Christianity has been too long established in Tonga to permit of much information being obtained to-day concerning religious practices for the furtherance of various occupations. Apparently the greatest of all ceremonies of this character was the *inasi*, or Harvest Festival, which obviously had as its aim the perpetuation of agricultural welfare. It was in honor of Hikuleo, but the offerings were brought to the Tui Tonga, whom Farmer (23, p. 129) says was the high priest of this deity, a statement which cannot be verified to-day. Cook (19, p. 336) witnessed an *inasi* ceremony at which the Tui Tonga presided. The *inasi* is also described by Wilson (65, 66) and by Mariner (40, 41). 789  
527  
[782]  
[776]

Boat building, fishing, pigeon snaring, and presumably even rat shooting were preceded by ceremonial observances, but what these ceremonies were I did not learn except in the most casual way, as the following fragmentary notes indicate. Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 59, 60) describes observances in connection with shark fishing. 789  
[346]  
[226]  
[225]  
[224]

Just what ceremonies were performed at the launching of a vessel I did not learn. Before a new vessel could be boarded by a woman, however, a ceremony called *hopo-kivaka* was performed. This took place at or after the launching and was usually performed by a woman, though sometimes by a man. 788  
562  
346

The first shark caught in a new fishing boat (*tafaanga*) is called *tokialiu*. A celebration in honor of this event bears the same name. When five sharks have been caught in a *tafaanga* another ceremony occurs, called *fakatoululoto*. When ten sharks have been caught in a *tafaanga*, a third ceremony takes place, called *fakatoulukoko*. Thereafter sharks may be caught without further ado. 226  
788

In pigeon snaring a man stood on the lookout for the pigeons at the mound. At their first appearance in the distance, looking only as big as the *nono* (defined by Baker as an insect and by the informant Havili as an insect smaller than an ant), dances 223



## THE ADVENT OF CHRISTIANITY

Thomson (54, pp. 200-203) has well portrayed the situation in Tonga during the period of the conversion to Christianity. As he points out, resistance to the spread of Christianity came not from the heathen priests but from the chiefs, who apparently realized that Christianity struck at the root of their time-honored privileges. [622]

I shall not attempt to trace the spread of Christianity but shall merely refer to certain interesting incidents in connection with its introduction—incidents which to some extent reflect the religious attitude of the Tongans. [28]

As far back as the fifteenth century there is traditional record of skepticism as to the power of the gods. I refer to the tradition concerning the Tui Tonga Kaulufonua I, who cried, "The gods are fools!" when he was wounded in battle. Mariner dwells upon the skepticism and irreligion of his patron Ulukalala II, who even went so far as to order the priest of his god strangled, but who was prevented from having the execution carried out by his own sudden death, an event which no doubt restored the prestige of the gods in the minds of many Tongans. 771

Stories are current that certain of the old gods gave oracles concerning the advent of Christianity and the destruction of the old order. At Pea, Tongatabu, it is related that the house of one god miraculously disappeared overnight, because the deity was provoked over the coming of the new religion. 776

The narrative of Peter Vi (3) refers particularly to the part taken by Taufaaahau (afterwards King George I) in the destruction of the heathen places of worship. That he was actuated entirely by Christian motives seems unlikely. In any event, murders and wholesale slaughters of the heathen were indulged in in the name of Christianity. The fortresses of Ngeleia and Hule were captured and their inhabitants slaughtered (pp. 215, 216). The events related below refer to the period just before and just after 1830. Taufaaahau was then the Tui Haapai. He had not yet succeeded to the rule of Vavau, or to the rule of Tongatabu. About 1829 the following event took place: 797

It was said that Taufa, the Tui Nomuka, was coming to Malupo (of Uihis Island) to get reeds for making spears for Tuita and Lolohea. Taufaaahau was to be held while they killed the Christians. Taufaaahau was informed of this on the day of the feast of the gods called Tautaulotufonua. The feast was held at the gates of the fortress and boxing and wrestling games, etc., were held. [The killing of the Christians was prevented.] 798

There were many priests and god houses at Haapai, and Taufaaahau said to Peter Vi and some others, "Let us go to the priestess of the god house at Holopeka." When we arrived there we found that she had gone to Faleloa. As we went along the road the king rooted up a big banana plant and carried it along. Peter Vi asked: "What is that for?" 799

Taufaaahau replied, "Something to hit the god with."

789 shortly afterwards swooned away; when recovered from this, still finding himself very ill, he  
 154 was taken to the house of a priest\*, who told  
 755 the sick chief that it was a woman, mentioning  
 763 her name, who had died two years before, and  
 was now in Bolotoot†, that had inspired him;  
 that she was deeply in love with him, and wished  
 him to die (which event was to happen in a  
 few days,) that she might have him near her:  
 the chief replied that he had seen the figure of  
 a female two or three successive nights in his  
 sleep, and had begun to suspect he was inspired  
 by her, though he could not tell who she was.  
 He died two days afterwards. Mr. Mariner  
 visited the sick chief three or four times, at the  
 house of the priest, and heard the latter foretel  
 his death and the occasion of it.

787 Now we are upon this subject it may not be  
 154 amiss to mention that Finow's son, who at this  
 period of our history was at the Navigator's  
 islands, used to be inspired by the spirit‡ of

[799] \* It is customary to take sick persons to the house of a  
 priest, that the will of the gods may be known. The priest  
 becomes immediately inspired, and remains almost constantly  
 in that state while the sick person is with him. If  
 he does not get better in two or three days he is taken to another  
 priest, &c.

[775] † Bolotoo is the name they give to their paradise, and is  
 supposed to be an island to the north-westward.

[775] ‡ The souls of deceased nobles become gods of the second  
 rank in Bolotoo.

262 man with the liver; and in this manner all the  
 796 hogs and their livers were carried in and de-  
 766 posited in two or three rows before Tooitonga.  
 784 Their number was then counted by the head  
 765 cooks of Tooitonga and Finow, and announced  
 482 aloud to Tooitonga by his own head cook; the  
 number of cars and piles of yams was also an-  
 nounced at the same time.

This being done, about twenty of the largest hogs were carried to Tooitonga's burying-place, nearly an hundred yards distant: those which were too heavy for one man to lift being put upon his shoulders by two others, &c.; as before, and deposited near the grave; one car of yams was also taken and left in like manner.

262 This portion of pork and yam being disposed  
 796 of, the remainder was shared out in the follow-  
 766 ing manner: one column of yams was allotted  
 784 to the king, to be removed in the afternoon,  
 765 and to be disposed of as he pleased: (he always  
 shares it among his chiefs and fighting men :)  
 another column was allotted to Veachi\* and  
 two or three other chiefs: the third was given  
 to the gods; (the priests always take care of  
 this portion;) and the fourth Tooitonga claimed  
 for his own share. As to the cars of yams, they

[565] \* Veachi, like Tooitonga, is a divine chief, that is descended  
 [643] from a god; he is, however, inferior to Tooitonga, but higher  
 [776] in rank than the king: see second volume of the work.

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The king and his army being arrived at their fortress, the sixty bodies were shared out to the different gods that had houses dedicated to them within the place. In performing this ceremony the people formed a large circle on the ground, with the king at the upper end. The bodies being placed in a row before Finow, a man rose up, and counting the bodies, declared aloud their number. The king then ordered that so many should be allotted to such a god, and so many to such another, and so of the rest. The names of these gods were Tali Toobo, Tooi foom Bolotoo, Lau file Tonga, Toobo lalo Tonga, and Chenitacala: the two first only are imaginary beings, the others are souls of departed chiefs; the last of all is a goddess, the soul of a female chief of that name. This being done, the bodies were carried away, and laid before the houses of the different gods to whom they were allotted: where, after they had remained three or four hours, those who had left relations among the garrison of Neafoo were carried away and buried; and the remainder, which were only nine or ten in number, were conveyed to the water side, and there disposed of in different ways: two or three were hung up on a tree; a couple were burnt; three were cut open from motives of curiosity to see

## CHAPTER XII.

000 Finow's younger daughter falls sick—Petitions to the gods—Farther account of the mode of invocation—Finow's illness—Debate among the gods respecting Finow—This debate causes thunder and lightning—Supposed effect of Finow's illness and recovery on his daughter—His daughter conveyed to the island of Ofoo—Her death—Ceremony of her burial—Strange custom of the people of Hamoa—Finow's illness—Petitions to the gods—Strangulation of a child in the way of sacrifice—Finow's death—Political state of the Tonga islands, occasioned by this event—Grief of Finow's daughter—Mr. Mariner rebuked by the prince for his grief at Finow's death—Suspicious conduct of Voona—Consultation of the god Toobo Toty—Report of what had been Finow's intentions previous to his death—The prince consults with his uncle on matters of political government relative to his succession.

594 SHORTLY after Toobó Malóhi and his followers  
634 had departed for the Hapai islands, Finow's  
758 younger daughter, named *Sáw-aw mái Loláŋgi*  
[551] which, in the Hamoa language, means de-  
[718] scended from the sky), about six or seven years  
[716] of age, fell sick; on which occasion she was  
removed from her father's house to another  
inside a fencing, consecrated to Tali-y-Toobo,  
755 the patron god of the *Hows*. Almost every  
782 morning a hog was killed, dressed, and pre-

755 "cent as well as guilty. How canst thou be  
 782 "merciless! dost thou not see here *Finow*,—  
 624 "and is not *A'foo* here, who descended from  
 543 "ancient Tonga chiefs now in *Bolótoo*;—and  
 "is not *Fóton* here, and did he not descend from  
 " *Moomobe* formerly *How* of Tonga;—and is  
 "not *A'lo* here, and *Niucápoo*, and *Toobó*!—then  
 "why art thou merciless?" (spoken in rather an  
 impatient and peremptory tone) "have regard  
 "for *Finow*, and save the life of his daughter."

Every morning, as before stated, for about a  
 fortnight, a hog was killed and offered to the  
 god, and addresses were made similar to the  
 above, and repeated five, six, or seven times a  
 day, but the god seemed to hearken not to their  
 [778] petition, and the child daily got worse. In  
 about fourteen or sixteen days, finding their  
 prayers unavailing, they took her to another  
 fencing in the neighbourhood, consecrated to  
*Too'i foo'a Bolo'too*. Here the same ceremonies  
 were practised for about a week, with as little  
 755 good result. *Finow*, finding his daughter get-  
 782 ting worse instead of better, ordered his large  
 624 canoes to be launched, and his wives, chiefs,  
 543 matabooles, in short his whole household, to go  
 484 on board. His sick daughter was conveyed  
 into the canoe which he and his wives occupied,

[793] Mr. Mariner also being on board. They set  
 [787] sail for the island of *Hoonga*, which belonged  
 [776]



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to a priest called *Toobó Téa*, who was accus-  
tomed to be inspired by Finow's tutelar god  
*Toobó Totái*. On this island several enclosures  
or fencings are consecrated to this god: to one  
of which his daughter was carried, and the same  
offering and same kind of address was frequently  
made; but in this case, not before the conse-  
crated house where the sick child lay, but where-  
ever the priest happened to be, which was gene-  
rally at his own house or at Finow's. It must  
here be remarked that those gods who have  
priests are invoked in the person of the inspired  
priest wherever he may happen to be: those  
who have no priest are invoked at the consecrated  
house by a mataboole, as was the case in the late  
instance with *Tali-y-Toobó*, who has no priest.

*Toobó Totái* was thus invoked every day, in  
the person of his priest, during a fortnight or  
three weeks. Seated at the head of the cava  
ring\*, he seemed much affected, and generally  
shed a profusion of tears. To their earnest en-  
treaties he scarcely ever made any answer, and  
when he did, it was, for the most part, to the  
following effect; "Why do you weary your-  
selves with entreating me?" (speaking as if  
he were the god) "if the power to restore the  
woman rested solely with me, I would do it:  
be assured it is all done by the will of the

\* See the form of invocation, p. 99.

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illness hourly increased, and feeling, as he said, <sup>634</sup>  
 a secret presentiment of approaching death, his <sup>763</sup>  
 female attendants ran out and informed his  
 chiefs and matabooles, who in consequence im-  
 mediately repaired to his house, and found him  
 unable to speak ; for as soon as he saw them he  
 endeavoured in vain to give utterance to his  
 ideas, and seemed choked by the vehemence of  
 his inward emotions. At length a flood of tears  
 coming to his relief, he acknowledged the jus-  
 tice of the gods, but lamented greatly that he  
 was about to meet his death on a bed of sickness  
 instead of going to brave it in the field of battle.  
 After a little pause, he said in a calm but firm  
 tone of voice, " I tremble at the approaching  
 " fate of my country: for I perceive plainly,  
 " that after my death the state of affairs will  
 " be much altered for the worse. I have had  
 " daily proofs that the obedience of my subjects  
 " is not excited by their love but by their  
 " fears."

Several chiefs and matabooles who, owing to <sup>634</sup>  
 the crowd, were not able to get into the house, <sup>763</sup>  
 but overheard what passed, went immediately <sup>761</sup>  
 to the priest of *Toobó Totái*, and presenting <sup>773</sup>  
 him cava root, sat down before him. An old <sup>787</sup>  
 mataboole then addressed him, stating that <sup>776</sup>  
 they had firm belief in the power which the <sup>784</sup>  
 gods possessed of inflicting what punishment <sup>565</sup>

694 they chose upon mortals : but he entreated the  
763 god to use his influence with the other powers  
761 of Bolotoo, that they might not take offence at  
799 what Finow had said in the morning, which  
787 was merely spoken on the impulse of the mo-  
776 ment, when warmly agitated with sentiments  
784 of affection for his daughter, and not from any  
[565] real disrespect to the gods : he supplicated him  
also to have regard to the general good of the  
islands, and not by depriving them of Finow,  
to involve the whole nation in anarchy and  
[821] confusion. The priest remained some time in  
silence, and was much affected : at length he  
announced that the gods of Bolotoo had, for a  
long time past, debated among themselves with  
regard to the punishment they should inflict  
upon Finow, for the many instances he had  
shewn of disobedience to religious precepts,  
and of exceeding disrespect for divine power ;  
that they had at first resolved upon his death,  
but that he (Toobó Totái) having repeatedly  
interceded in his behalf, some of the other gods  
also took his part ; in consequence of which  
there arose very violent dissensions in Bolotoo ;  
not, as he explained to them, by actual fight-  
ing, for gods are immortal, and can neither be  
killed, wounded, nor hurt, but by urgent and  
potent arguments, which had occasioned, he  
said, the late high winds and tremendous thun-  
der.

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der. That they had consequently come to a resolution of saving his life, seeing that his death would be a greater evil to his people than to himself, and of punishing him in another and perhaps more severe way, viz. by the death of his most dear and beloved daughter, who must therefore be inevitably taken from him: for as it had been decreed, beyond all revocation, that either he or his daughter must die, her life could not be saved without taking away his. As a sort of proof of this decree, he bade them remark that whilst Finow was at this time ill, his daughter was much better, and comparatively full of life and spirits, (which was actually the case.) To-morrow, he said, her father would be tolerably well, for the gods had not decreed his immediate death, but only a temporary illness, to impress on his mind a sense of their power, and then his daughter would relapse, and become as bad or worse than ever.

The priest being now silent, the chiefs and matabooles left him, with a strong belief of the truths he had been telling them. When they arrived at Finow's house they found him somewhat better, but did not communicate what they had heard from his priest. This however was soon rumoured among the other chiefs and matabooles, in the king's cook-house, where

634 they generally resort for cava, and which from  
 763 custom has become a sort of rendezvous to  
 565 pick up or retail news. Mr. Mariner, who had  
 799 been with Finow (his patron, father, and pro-  
 784 tector,) during his illness, coming to the cook-  
 599 house and hearing what the priest had said,  
 [276] went out of curiosity to Finow's daughter, and  
 [209] was surprised to find her sitting up, eating ripe  
 bananas, and in very good spirits, talking at in-  
 tervals to her female attendants.

634 In the evening Finow, feeling himself for  
 599 the most part recovered, visited his daughter,  
 763 and found her much worse than, as he was in-  
 formed, she had been in the morning. He now  
 expressed his intention of passing the night at  
 her house, which he accordingly did. When  
 he awoke in the morning he felt himself per-  
 fectly recovered; but going to his daughter's  
 mat, he found, to his utmost grief, that she was  
 worse than ever. In the course of the morning  
 he went down to the sea-shore, to give some  
 orders respecting an alteration he designed in  
 the sail of his canoe, in which he also employed  
 himself (to distract his thoughts probably) the  
 greater part of the day. At night he again  
 slept at the house of his daughter; and very  
 634 early the following morning gave orders for all  
 763 his chiefs, matabooles, and attendants, to go on  
 799 board his canoes, and gave directions for his  
 784  
 776  
 784  
 599  
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daughter also to be carried on board ; then following himself, made sail for the island of Ofoo, with intention of consulting *Alhi Váloo*, the tutelar god of his aunt *Toe Oomoo*. They arrived after two hours sail ; and immediately, on landing, went and presented cava root to the priest of that god (the name of the priest Mr. Mariner has forgotten). In the mean time the sick child was taken to the god's consecrated house. The company being seated in the presence of the priest, a bowl of cava was presented to him,—when the god said—“ It is “ in vain that you come here to invoke me “ upon a subject on which you have obtained “ all the information that it is necessary for “ you to know. *Toobó Totái* has already instructed you in the will of the gods, and I “ can communicate nothing farther.” The priest having said this, Finow and his attendants rose up and went their way. In the course of the afternoon the supposed victim of divine vengeance was removed to several other consecrated houses in the same island, and was suffered to remain about half an hour or an hour in each, with the hope that she would derive benefit from the auspices of either of the deities, who were imagined to reside in those places. Removal, however, appeared to make her worse ; and at length she was almost



634 ing, that as he was a man, he ought to feel as a  
 727 man, and not mingle his sorrows with those of  
 562 women; but if he wished to express his love  
 577 for Finow, who had adopted him as his son,  
 and had given him the name of a son whom he  
 had lost some years before\*, he should demon-  
 strate that love and respect for the memory of  
 so good a father, by engaging his attentions in  
 the interests of his family, particularly in those  
 of himself, who was his lawful heir;—and not  
 show his affliction by a silly profusion of tears  
 and sighs, which was beneath the exalted cha-  
 racter of a warrior.

634 About the middle of the night, no actual dis-  
 668 turbance had taken place, but some of the  
 prince's confidants, who were dispersed about  
 to be on the watch, brought intelligence that  
*Voona* was holding secret conferences with some  
 of the natives of Vavaoo. The prince, however,  
 thought it advisable not to take any active mea-  
 sures, nor to appear to notice it: he therefore

[55] \* The name of this son was *Tógi Obcuméa*, (an iron axe)  
 776 which was also the name of one of the gods of the sea: for  
 412 as they only obtain iron axes from across the sea, they na-  
 177 turally attribute the advantages which they possess, in having  
 [59] such a useful instrument, to the bounty of a sea god, whom  
 they have accordingly designated by this name. Finow's  
 son, who was so called, was a great favourite of his father,  
 who, when he adopted Mr. Mariner, gave him the same  
 name, as a proof of his real esteem. Mr. M. always went by  
 this name, or for shortness sake, *Tógi*.

764 of respect to the departed chief; and sat on the ground, waiting for the commencement of the ceremonies usual on such extraordinary occasions.

634 In the mean time, the prince, and his uncle,  
668 Finow Fiji, prepared cava at a neighbouring  
787 house, and presented it there to the priest of  
799 *Toobo Totai*, out of respect to that god, who  
[776] was now become the tutelar deity of the young  
prince. By the mouth of his priest the god  
desired him not to fear rebellion; for who should

dare to rebel against a chief who was the peculiar care of the powers of Bolotoo? He commanded him moreover to reflect on the circumstances of his father's death, as a salutary lesson to himself: "Your father," said the divinity, "is now no more;—but why did he die?—because he was disrespectful to the gods!" The

634 conference here ended. A short time after,  
661 the prince, whilst reflecting on the words of the  
761 oracle, was addressed by a woman, who was sitting  
784 behind him in waiting, and who was much respected by the late king and his family, on account of her having given him some information respecting a real or supposed conspiracy, on the part of the Vavaoo chiefs; (Booboono, Cacahoo, and others, who were seized in consequence at Macave, and afterwards put to death: see p. 276.) This woman remarked to the prince

634 clamation) "no wonder that he died! a chief  
 661 "with such dreadful intentions!" Mr. Mariner  
 761 then stated, in addition, that he had heard the  
 784 king say more than once, (a few days before he  
 died,) "How unmindful are the gods of my  
 "welfare!—but no! it is not the decree of the  
 "gods in general;—it is to that vexatious Too-  
 "bo Totai, that I owe my misfortunes; he  
 "does not exert himself for my good: but wait  
 "a little, I'll be revenged! his priest shall not  
 "live long\*!"

634 The prince and his uncle, Finow Fiji, next  
 661 held a consultation together respecting their  
 mode of conduct, particularly in regard to cer-  
 tain chiefs, who were suspected of not being  
 well disposed towards their family. Finow Fiji,  
 for his own part, said, that he had no other wish  
 than to coincide in whatever should seem likely  
 to establish the peace and welfare of *Hafooloo*  
*How* (the name given to Vavaoo and all its  
 neighbouring small islands, taken collectively),  
 and that the only method of doing this would

[777] \* Finow had often stated to Mr. Mariner his doubts that  
 [776] there were such beings as the gods:—he thought that men  
 were fools to believe what the priests told them. Mr. Ma-  
 riner expressed his wonder that he should doubt their exist-  
 ence, when he acknowledged that he had more than once  
 felt himself inspired by the spirit of *Moomé* (a former *How*  
 of Tonga): "True!" replied the king, "there may be gods;  
 but what the priests tell us about their power over mankind,  
 I believe to be all false."

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scale in favour of Finow's humanity and discriminative justice, we may quote the instance of pardon granted to the two boys of the Port au Prince, who, notwithstanding they were guilty of theft and sacrilege, were excused on account of their supposed ignorance of the extent of their crime; whilst a native would have been executed upon the spot. (See p. 163.) His conduct towards Mr. Mariner must also be noticed at the time when the Hope, Captain Chace, arrived at Vavaoo. (See p. 303.) It should here moreover be observed, that Finow's temper was uncommonly irritable; when once excited into anger, his rage was terrible: this he acknowledged himself, and would frequently say that his quick temper was the infliction sent him from Bolotoo\*: and in some measure to obviate its ill effects, he frequently charged his matabooles to hold him whenever they saw him getting violently angry! This they always did, and in about ten minutes or a quarter of

\* They believe that every man has some deep-seated evil, either in his mental or bodily constitution, sent him by the gods; but for which they assign no other reason than the delight they take in punishing mankind: this last opinion is however by no means universal, the generality of the natives do not pretend to assign any reason; and upon mature consideration Mr. Mariner is convinced that the malignancy of the gods is not a Tonga doctrine, except as far as regards the Hotooa Pow hereafter to be spoken of.

634 well what he had to say: persuasion hung upon  
157 his lip, and the flow of his eloquence was such,  
that many of his enemies were afraid to listen  
to him, lest they should be led to view the sub-  
ject in a light prejudicial to their interests.

Although, in matters of consequence, he  
always seemed to weigh well what he had to  
say, in subjects of minor importance he was  
very quick in reply: his voice was loud, not  
harsh but mellow, and his pronunciation re-  
markably distinct. When he laughed, which  
was not on trifling occasions, it was so loud as  
to be heard at an incredible distance; and with  
a very strange noise preceding it, as if he  
were hallooing after somebody a long way off,  
and the same kind of noise as he always made  
when in a passion: and this was peculiar to him.  
When in his house, however, giving orders  
about his domestic arrangements, his voice was  
uncommonly mild, and very low.

634 In regard to his sentiments of religion and  
771 policy, they may be pretty well gathered from  
771 sundry passages in the narrative:—with respect  
773 to his religion in particular, it is difficult to say  
787 whether he had any: it is certain that he dis-  
776 believed most of the oracles delivered by the  
priests; for although he conceived that they  
were really inspired, when they appeared to be  
so, yet he thought that frequently a great deal

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of what they declared to be the sentiments of the god was their own invention; and this particularly in regard to what did not suit his own sentiments. He never, however, declared his opinion of these things in public; though he expressed them, very decidedly, to Mr. Mariner, and some of his intimate friends. He used to say that the gods would always favour that party in war, in which there were the greatest chiefs and warriors. He did not believe that the gods paid much attention in other respects to the affairs of mankind; nor did he think they could have any reason for doing so,—no more than man could have any reason or interest in attending to the affairs of the gods. He believed in the doctrine of a future state, agreeably to the notions entertained by his countrymen; that is, that chiefs and matabooles, having souls, exist hereafter in Bolotoo, according to their rank in this world; but that the common people, having no souls, or those only that die with their bodies, are without any hope of a future existence.

Such was the character of the late How of the Tonga islands,—a character not without a considerable share of merit; in some respects not unworthy imitation, and in every respect highly interesting.—We have portrayed it at some length, because such characters do not



643 due to the divine character of this chief: and as this was done immediately after Tooitonga's death, his son did not succeed to this high title; so that if affairs still remain in the same state at Vavaoo, there is at present no Tooitonga, and probably never again will be; but if there should happen some violent political change, it is possible the son of the late divine chief may be raised to that honour: we therefore speak of Tooitonga as if actually existing.

[55] The family name of Tooitonga is Fatafehi, and  
 [56] the present head of the family, the only son (of legitimate rank,) is now a youth of about sixteen or seventeen years of age; his name is Fatafehi Low fili Tonga: he is still considered a chief of high rank, and has respect paid to him accordingly.

[565] Tooitonga and Veachi are both acknowledged  
 [778] descendants of chief gods who formerly visited  
 [776] the islands of Tonga, but whether their original mothers were goddesses or merely natives of Tonga, is a question which they do not pretend to decide. Of these two personages, Tooitonga, 643  
 823 as may be guessed from his title, is far higher in rank;—the word imports chief of Tonga, which 565  
 764 island has always been considered the most noble of all the Tonga islands, and from time immemorial the greatest chiefs have been accustomed to make it their principal place of re-

565 VEACHI, as mentioned before, is another  
*Egi* of divine original, but far from being equal  
 [634] to Tooitonga. The king, indeed, avoids his  
 [576] presence, the same as he would that of Tooi-  
 [796] tonga, and always pays him the usual obeisance  
 when he happens to meet him: but he has no  
 peculiar marks of high respect shewn to him, as  
 are shewn to Tooitonga; that is to say, no ce-  
 remonies that are, in themselves, peculiar and  
 different from what are shewn to other chiefs  
 [776] by their inferiors. There is this one universal  
 acknowledgment, however, viz. that he is a  
 great chief descended from a god, that he is  
 next in rank to Tooitonga, and superior to  
 every other chief. His name has no known li-  
 teral meaning that Mr. Mariner can discover.

793 PRIESTS or FAHE-GEHE. The term *fahe-gehe*  
 means split off, separate, or distinct from, and is  
 787 applied to signify a priest, or man, who has a  
 555 peculiar or distinct sort of mind or soul, differ-  
 ing from that of the generality of mankind,  
 which disposes some god occasionally to inspire  
 [576] him. These inspirations, of which an account  
 [634] has been given vol. i. p. 100, frequently happen,  
 and on such occasions the priest has the same  
 [565] deference and respect shewn to him as if he  
 [643] were the god himself; if the king happen to be  
 [776] present, he retires to a respectful distance, and  
 sits down among the body of the spectators, so

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would Veachi, and so would even the high di-<sup>793</sup>  
vine chief Tooitonga, because a god is believed<sup>787</sup>  
to exist at that moment in the priest, and to speak<sup>555</sup>  
from his mouth: but at other times a priest has<sup>565</sup>  
no other respect paid to him than what his<sup>776</sup>  
own proper family rank may require. They ge-<sup>[576]</sup>  
nerally belong to the lower order of chiefs, or to<sup>[634]</sup>  
the matabooles, though sometimes great chiefs<sup>[643]</sup>  
are thus visited by the gods, and the king him-  
self has been inspired by Tali-y-toobo, the chief  
of the gods. During the time a priest is in-  
spired he is looked on with more or less ve-  
neration, according to the rank of the god that  
inspires him. But more upon this subject  
under the head of religion.

The civil ranks of society may be thus di-<sup>565</sup>  
vided; How, or KING; EGI, or NOBLES; MATA-  
BOOLES; MOOAS, and TOOAS.

The How, or KING<sup>A</sup> is an arbitrary monarch,<sup>643</sup>  
deriving his right to the throne partly from he-<sup>634</sup>  
reditary succession, and partly from military  
power, which latter he is occasionally obliged  
to exert to secure himself in the former. His  
power and influence over the minds of the  
people is derived from the following circum-  
stances; viz. hereditary right; supposed pro-  
tection of the gods, if he be the lawful heir;  
his reputation as a warrior; the nobility of his  
descent; and lastly, but not least, the strength

## VOL. II.

A [Mariner is here describing the office held  
by Finow who Mariner mistakenly thought was the  
Tui Kanokupolu. Finow was only a militarily  
powerful island governor--Analyst]

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

Enumeration of the principal notions on which the religion of Tonga is founded—Traditionary account of the island of Bolotoo—Division of the gods into six classes—Names and attributes of the principal original gods—Souls of Chiefs—Souls of Matabooles—Other Hotooas or inhabitants of Bolotoo—Hotooa Pow, or mischievous gods—The god that supports the earth—Observations upon death—Origin of the habitable earth, or rather of the islands of Tonga—Popular traditions respecting the original inhabitants of Tonga—Remarks—Another tradition respecting the same subject—Fiji story respecting an island of immortal women—Popular account of the origin of Turtles—General notion of the earth, sky, and heavenly bodies—Notions respecting the human soul and animal life—Ideas concerning the liver—The soul's immortality—Notions of the Fiji people in regard to the soul. 000

THE RELIGION of the Tonga islands rests chiefly 771 upon a belief of the following notions.

1. That there are Hotooas, gods, or superior beings, who have the power of dispensing good and evil to mankind, according to their merit, but of whose origin they form no idea, rather supposing them to be eternal. 771 776
2. That there are other Hotooas or gods, viz the souls of all deceased nobles and matabooles, who have a like power of dispensing good and evil, but in an inferior degree. [775]

771 3. That there are besides several Hotooa Pow,  
 776 or mischievous gods, whose attribute is never  
 to dispense good, but petty evils and troubles,  
 not as a punishment, but indiscriminately to  
 whomsoever it may be, from a pure mischiev-  
 ous disposition.

4. That all these superior beings, although they  
 may perhaps have had a beginning, will have  
 no end.

771 5. That the world also is of doubtful origin,  
 773 and co-existent with the gods; the *solid* sky,  
 the heavenly bodies, and the ocean, being  
 pre-existent to the habitable earth, and that  
 the Tonga islands were drawn out of the  
 water by the god Tangaloa, whilst fishing with  
 a line and hook.

6. That mankind, according to a partial tradi-  
 tion, first came from Bolotoo, the chief re-  
 sidence of the gods, an island to the north-  
 westward, and resided at the Tonga islands,  
 by command of Tangaloa: they consisted of  
 two brothers, with their wives and attend-  
 ants, whose original they pretend to know  
 nothing about.

771 7. That all human evil is inflicted by the gods  
 784 upon mankind, on account of some neglect  
 of religious duty, either in the person or per-  
 sons who suffer the inflictions, or in the egi  
 or chief whom they serve; and the contrary  
 of good.

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8. That all *egi* or nobles have souls, which exist hereafter in Bolotoo, not according to their moral merit, but their rank in this world, and then they have power similar to the original gods, but less. The matabooles also go to Bolotoo after death, where they exist as matabooles or ministers to the gods, but they have not the power of inspiring priests: the mooas, according to the belief of some, also go to Bolotoo, but this is a matter of great doubt. But the tooas, or lower class of people, have no souls, or such only as dissolve with the body after death, which consequently ends their sentient existence.
9. That the human soul during life is not a distinct essence from the body, but only the more etherial part of it, and which exists in Bolotoo, in the form and likeness of the body, the moment after death.
10. That the primitive gods and deceased nobles sometimes appear (visibly) to mankind, to warn or to afford comfort and advice: that the primitive gods also sometimes come into the living bodies of lizards, porpoises, and a species of water snake, hence these animals are much respected; their coming into porpoises is supposed to be for the purpose of taking care of vessels, &c.
11. That the two personages at the Tonga



771 islands known by the name of Toootonga and  
 776 Veachi are descendants in a right line from  
 643 two chief gods, and that all respect and ve-  
 565 neration is therefore due to them.

12. That some persons are favoured with the  
 771 inspiration of the gods, by an actual existence  
 793 of the god for the time being, in the person  
 787 (the priest) so inspired, who is then capable  
 of prophesying.

13. That human merit or virtue consists chiefly  
 771 in paying respect to the gods, nobles, and  
 577 aged persons; in defending one's hereditary  
 rights; honour, justice, patriotism, friend-  
 ship, meekness, modesty, fidelity of married  
 women, parental and filial love, observance  
 of all religious ceremonies, patience in suf-  
 fering, forbearance of temper, &c.

[787] 14. That all rewards for virtue or punishments  
 for vice happen to men in this world only,  
 and come immediately from the gods.

771 15. That several acts acknowledged by all ci-  
 673 vilized nations as crimes, are under many  
 circumstances considered by them as matters  
 of indifference, such as revenge, killing a ser-  
 vant who has given provocation, or any body  
 else, provided it be not a very superior chief  
 or noble; rape, provided it be not upon a  
 married woman, or one to whom respect is  
 due, on the score of superior rank, from the

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any resistance. They at length saw some of the hotooas, who passed through the substance of their bodies as if there were nothing there: the hotooas recommended them to go away immediately, as they had no proper food for them, and promised them a fair wind and a speedy passage. They accordingly put directly to sea, and in two days, sailing with the utmost velocity, they arrived at Hamoa, (the Navigator's islands,) at which place they wanted to touch before they went to Tonga. Having remained at Hamoa two or three days, they sailed for Tonga, where they arrived with great speed, but in the course of a few days they all died, not as a punishment for having been at Bolotoo, but as a natural consequence; the air of Bolotoo, as it were, infecting mortal bodies with speedy death. The hotooas are supposed to have no canoes, not requiring them; for if they wish to be any where, there they are the moment the wish is felt.

The HOTOOAS, or supernatural intelligent beings, may be divided into classes.

1. The original gods.
2. The souls of nobles, that have all attributes in common with the first, but inferior in degree.
3. The souls of matabooles, that are still in-

716  
[715] ferior, and have not the power, as the two first have, of coming back to Tonga to inspire the priests, though they are supposed to have the power of appearing to their relatives.

4. The original attendants, or servants, as it were, of the gods, who, although they had their origin, and have ever since existed in Bolotoo, are still inferior to the third class.

5. The Hotooa Pow, or mischievous gods.

6. Mooui, or the god that supports the earth, and does not belong to Bolotoo.

The first class, or original hotooas, are supposed to be rather numerous, perhaps about three hundred; but the names of very few are known, and those only to some of the chiefs and matabooles; for it may easily be supposed that, where no written records are kept, only those whose attributes particularly concern the affairs of this world should be much talked of; as to the rest, they are, for the most part, merely tutelar gods to particular private families, and having nothing in their history at all interesting, are scarcely known to any body else.

[346]  
[718] Several of these primitive hotooas have houses dedicated to them; the houses are built in the usual style, but, generally, somewhat more care is taken, both in building them, and keeping

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them in good order, decorating their inclosures with flowers, &c. About twenty of the gods have houses thus consecrated to them, some having five or six, others one or two. The following are the names and attributes of the principal gods.

TA'LI-Y-TOOBO'; (the literal meaning of this name, from which nothing can be deduced, is *Wait there, Toobo!*) He is the patron of the How and his family, not of Fincw in particular, who is the present king, but of any one who may be king. He is also god of war, and is consequently always invoked in time of war by the How's party: in time of peace he is also occasionally invoked for the general good of the nation, as well as for the particular interest and welfare of the How's family. He has four houses dedicated to him in the island of Vavaoo; two at the small island of Lefooga, one at Haano, one at Wiha, and two or three others of smaller importance elsewhere. He has no priest, unless it be the How himself, whom he sometimes inspires: but it has happened that a How, during his whole reign, has not been inspired.

TOO'I FOOA BOLO'TOO; the literal meaning of this is, "*Chief of all Bolotoo*;" from this name one would suppose him to be the greatest god in Bolotoo, but he is inferior to the one before mentioned; how he came by this name the na-

776 tives themselves can give no account; the only  
 answer they make is, that such is his proper  
 name. Although he is the god of Bolotoo, he  
 is inferior to Tali y Toobo, insomuch that they  
 scarcely make a comparison between them; if  
 you ask them whether Tooi fooa Bolotoo is a  
 great god, they will answer, "Yes, he is a very  
 "great god." "Is Tali y Toobo a greater  
 "god?" "Yes, much greater." "How great,  
 "then, is Tali y Toobo?" "He is a great  
 "chief, from the top of the sky down to the  
 [565] "bottom of the earth!" He<sup>A</sup> is also the god of  
 [782] rank in society, and in this quality he is often  
 [718] invoked by the heads of great families, as the  
 king, and other great nobles, on occasion of  
 sickness, or other family troubles. He has  
 [793] several houses dedicated to him; three or four  
 [787] at Vavaoo, one at Lefooga, and a few at other  
 islands. He has three or four priests, whom  
 he occasionally inspires; at least Mr. Mariner  
 is acquainted with three or four, but perhaps  
 there are others.

[643] HIGOOLE'o (no literal meaning that we can  
 discover, unless *igoo leo*, to guard the tail); a  
 very high god, regarded principally by Tooi-  
 [793] tonga's family. He has no priest, nor any  
 [787] house, and is supposed never to come to Tonga.  
 [634] The natives are uncertain about his attributes.  
 TOOBO TOTY, literally, *Toobo the mariner*.

A [the god Too'i fooa Bolo'too--Analyst]

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He is the patron of Finow's family, also the god of voyages: in the first quality he is often invoked by Finow; in the second quality he is often invoked by chiefs, going upon any maritime expedition; also by any body in a canoe during a voyage. He is not the god of wind, but is supposed to have great influence with that god; his chief power is extended to the preservation of canoes from accidents: this god has several houses dedicated to him, chiefly at Vavaoo and the contiguous isles. Mr. Mariner only knew one priest belonging to him, but he, perhaps, has several. It will be recollected, in the former part of the history, at the time when Finow's daughter was so ill, that this priest, when inspired, foretold that either Finow or his daughter must die, as decreed in Bolotoo: in consequence, Finow, after his daughter's death, was so exasperated with his god, Toobo Toty, for not making arrangements among the gods more favourable to him, that he vowed to kill his priest: this sacrilegious intention was, however, prevented by his own death, which happened as a judgment on him, according to the people's notions. Vide vol. 1.<sup>A</sup>

ALA'I VA'LOO; (*Alai*, no discoverable meaning; *Valoo*, the number eight); a god that patronizes the How's family, but is particularly the patron god of Tóe Oomoo, the late king's aunt. This god is now and then invoked by A [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 350-378--Analyst]



776 the king's family, but very frequently by Tōe  
 [634] Oomoo. He<sup>A</sup> has a large consecrated fencing  
 [778] at Ofoo, one of the islands in the vicinity of  
 [793] Vavaoo: he has, at least, one priest, and is  
 [787] very frequently consulted in behalf of sick per-  
 [755] sons.

A'lo A'lo; literally, *to fan*. God of wind  
 and weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation in  
 776 general. This god is generally invoked about  
 821 once a month, if the weather is seasonable, that  
 it may remain so; if the weather is unseasona-  
 ble, or destructive on shore by excessive wind  
 or rain, he is invoked every day. A'lo A'lo is  
 not the god of thunder and lightning, of which,  
 indeed; there is no god acknowledged among  
 them, as this phenomenon is never recollected  
 to have done any mischief of consequence. In  
 boisterous weather at sea, the superior god  
 Toobo Toty', the protector of canoes, and other  
 sea gods, are always invoked in place of A'lo  
 776 A'lo. About the time when the yams are full  
 796 grown (near the latter end of December), the  
 241 ceremony of *tow tow* begins, consisting in an  
 offering of yams, and other provisions, to the  
 god A'lo A'lo. This ceremony is repeated every  
 ten days, for eight times successively, as will be  
 described under the head of religious rites.

776 This god has only two houses dedicated to him,  
 778 one at Vavaoo, and the other at Lefooga: he  
 793 has also two priests, one at each place.

A [the god Ala'i Va'loo--Analyst]

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Too'r Bolo'too; literally, *chief of Bolotoo*. This and the three following gods are all minor gods of the sea and of voyages, and protectors of Finow's family. Notwithstanding his name, he is inferior to all the gods mentioned before him; but much upon an equality with the three following. He has two houses dedicated to him at Vavaoo, and one at Lefooga; none elsewhere that Mr. Mariner knew of: he has, perhaps, two or three priests.

HA'LA A'PI A'PI; literally, *a road crowded*. He has the same attributes as Tooi Bolotoo. Mr. Mariner knows of no house dedicated to him. He has one priest.

TO'GI OOCUMME'A; literally, *an iron axe*. The same attributes as the above.

TOOBO' BOO'GOO; literally, *Toobo the Short*. The same attributes as the above.

TANGALO'A; god of artificers and the arts: doubtful if he has any house dedicated to him: has several priests, who are all carpenters. It was this god that brought the Tonga islands from the bottom of the sea, whilst fishing.

Such are the names and attributes of the chief primitive gods; next to those in rank and power come the souls of nobles.

Souls of EGIES, or NOBLES: of these there must be a vast number. Their attributes are similar to those of the primitive chief gods:

775 they have the power of inspiring priests, and of  
769 appearing in dreams and visions to their re-  
[781]latives and others. They have no houses de-  
[778]dicated to them, but the proper places to invoke  
them are their graves, which are considered  
sacred, and are therefore as much respected as  
consecrated houses. Their names are the same  
775 as they had whilst living, and they hold the  
776 same rank mutually among themselves as they  
[784]held during their mortal existence; and whether  
their deeds were good or evil during their life,  
is a circumstance that does not at all affect their  
state in Bolotoo, all punishments for crimes  
being supposed to be inflicted by the primitive  
gods upon men during their lifetime; in which  
inflictions the second class of gods have a pro-  
[82]portional power with the first. As many of  
these souls of nobles have had strong warlike  
dispositions in this world, it might be supposed  
that they waged war against one another in  
Bolotoo; but this is not the case, for, in that  
state of existence, their understanding is much  
more clear than in this world, enabling them to  
discern what is right, and disposing them to  
choose it in preference to what is wrong: not  
but what they, and even the primitive gods,  
have verbal disputes, but which, from the clear-  
ness of their intellect, and the justice of their  
views, are supposed to be managed with divine

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temperance; but as the temperate discussion of gods may appear awful violence to weak-minded man, so it is not to be wondered that such disputes at Bolotoo should produce thunder and lightning at Tonga; as happened in the discussion among the gods respecting the fate of Finow and his daughter. (Vide vol. 1<sup>st</sup>)

The SOULS of MATABOOLES come next: of these little need be said; they hold the same name and rank as during their life. They have not the power of inspiring priests; they cannot punish nor reward mankind, at least by any direct influence; though their friends and relatives sometimes beg their intercession with the higher gods, in behalf of their health, or prosperity, &c. They have no houses dedicated to them; they sometimes appear to their friends. Some of them are tutelar gods, and protectors of the *toos*, or lower orders, which they are, as it were, by permission.

The ATTENDANTS, or SERVANTS OF THE PRIMITIVE GODS. These, like the gods to whom they belong, are original inhabitants of Bolotoo. They are considered of less quality than the souls of matabooles. They have no power in Tonga, and if they go there they cannot manifest themselves. Their number is supposed to be immense.

The HOTOOA POW, or mischievous Gods.—

A [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 350-378--Analyst]

776 Of these there are perhaps several in number; but only five or six are supposed to be particularly active; and from their disposition to plague mankind, they reside more frequently at Tonga than at Bolotoo. They are accused of [171] being the cause of all the petty inconveniences and troubles of life: and at Hamóa (or the Navigator's islands), they have an idea which is very convenient to the reputation of the females, that some of these *hotooa pow* molest them in their sleep, in consequence of which there are many supernatural conceptions: at Tonga, however, the matter is never carried to [793] that extent. These *hotooa pow* have no priests, [778] have no houses dedicated to them, nor are they [782] ever invoked. All the great misfortunes of life, [784] as before noticed, are special inflictions from the gods for the crimes of men: whereas the [828] mischievous tricks played by the *hotooa pow* are for their own whim and delight; they lead travellers astray, trip them up, pinch them, jump upon their backs in the dark, cause the nightmare and frightful dreams. They are never seen.

[823] Móoor—A god that supports the earth, the earth lying on him; he being prostrate. This, as may be supposed, is a very gigantic being, greater in personal bulk than any of the others.

[787] He never inspires any body, nor ever leaves

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his situation. He has no house dedicated to him. When an earthquake happens, it is supposed that this god, feeling himself in an uneasy posture, is endeavouring to turn himself about; and, on such occasions, the people give loud shouts and beat the ground with sticks, which is supposed to have the effect of making him lie still. They have no idea of what he lies on, nor ever make any enquiries about it; and say it would be folly to do so, for who can go there and see?

Such is the account they give of their gods, and the respect which they pay to these imaginary beings is so great and so universal, that scarcely any instance is known of downright impiety; and indeed they have very strong motives to keep them in proper order in this respect, founded in their firm and fixed belief, that all human miseries are the consequent punishment of crimes, and that acts of atrocity are most frequently punished by disease and death; and this risk of premature death among the tooas in particular must have a frightful aspect, as they consider the termination of life as the termination of their existence altogether. With respect to the chiefs indeed, to whom death is only a change to a better life, this apprehension may not take quite so strong a hold; nevertheless, life is always sweet, there are al-



773 "the place, and had fed upon the produce of  
 539 "the place, they should become mortal, and  
 "people the world with mortal beings, and all  
 "about them should be *méa máma*\*. Upon  
 "this they were all exceedingly grieved, and  
 "were sorry they had broken up their canoe,  
 "but they made another, and some of them put  
 "to sea with the hope of regaining the island of  
 "Bolotoo; in which endeavour, if they suc-  
 "ceeded, they were to come back and fetch  
 "their companions: but they looked in vain  
 "for the land of the gods, and were obliged to  
 "return sorely afflicted to Tonga."

773 In the above story there is a little inconsis-  
 776 tency in respect to the gods coming from Bolo-  
 too in a canoe; for the gods are generally un-  
 derstood to have no canoes, not requiring  
 them,—for the moment they wish to be any  
 where, their wish is accomplished without any  
 further trouble, which is a mode of conveyance  
 far superior to any of our inventions, either an-  
 cient or modern.

773 The Tonga people have also a story among  
 777 them, respecting an island of immortal women  
 existing somewhere to the north-west of Fiji;

\* Things of this world, mortal, subject to decay and death,  
 in contradistinction to *méa hotoá*, things of the other world  
 (Bolotoo), or land of *hotoáus*, immortal, and always flour-  
 ishing.

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but this is suspected to be rather a Fiji tale than a tradition of their own, and consequently is not much believed among them. These immortal women are considered to be *hotoous*; but they are thought to have all the passions and propensities properly belonging to women of this world, insomuch that it is dangerous for canoes to put in there; not that the crew would be positively ill-treated by these fair goddesses, but too much kindness sometimes destroys as effectually, though perhaps not so quickly, as too much severity. It is reported that a Fiji canoe was once driven there by a gale of wind: the men landed, and were charmed with the truly kind reception they met with; but in a day or two, finding the climate much too warm for their constitution, they wisely betook themselves again to their canoe, and with some difficulty reached the Fiji islands, bringing sundry marvellous accounts of the nature of the country, and the reception they met with. This story is prevalent, not only at Tonga and Fiji, but also at Hamoa (the Navigator's island.) Some of the Fiji people believe it: the Hamoa people doubt it very much; and the generality of the Tonga people deny it altogether.

The natives of the Tonga islands have a traditional story respecting the origin of turtles;

778 and as we are here discoursing about their no-  
 825 tions of the world, which in some measure in-  
 volve their knowledge of natural history, it  
 ought properly to be told in this place.

A considerable time after the existence of  
 mankind at Tonga, a certain god, who lived in  
 the sky, and whose name was Langi, received  
 a command from the superior gods of Bolotoo  
 to attend a grand conference, shortly to be held  
 at the latter place, on some point of universal  
 importance. Now it happened that the god  
 Langi had several children\*; among others,  
 two daughters, beautiful young goddesses, who  
 were of an age in which vanity and the desire  
 to be admired was beginning to be a very  
 strong passion, and consequently they had often  
 expressed their wish to see the islands of Tonga,  
 and to visit the people that dwelt there; but  
 their father was too wise readily to give his  
 consent. Business of importance, however,  
 now demanded his absence from the sky; but  
 being fearful that his inexperienced daughters  
 might in the mean time descend to Tonga, he  
 gave them the strictest commands not to leave  
 their celestial residence till his return; and as  
 a motive for their obedience, he promised to

[776] \* It would appear from this that the gods are supposed to  
 have children, nevertheless Mr. Mariner believes that this is  
 not consistent with the general opinion of the natives.

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sometimes to the external eye in the form of a ghost or apparition: but this power of re-appearance at Tonga particularly belongs to the souls of chiefs, rather than of matabooles. It was thought that Finow the first was occasionally visited by a deceased son of his, not visibly, but announcing his presence by whistling. Mr. Mariner once heard this whistling, as he was with the king and some chiefs in a house at night lying on their mats: it was dark, and the sound appeared to come from the loft of the house. Mr. Mariner thinks this to have been some trick of Finow's. The natives believed it to be a spirit. It is to be observed that they consider it *taboo* to whistle, as being disrespectful to the gods. It has already been stated, that the gods are believed sometimes to enter into the bodies of lizards, porpoises and water snakes; but this power belongs only to the original gods, not to the souls of chiefs.

There is no future place of existence for the souls of men but Bolotoo, and, consequently, no state of future punishment; all rewards for virtue, and punishments for vice, being inflicted on mankind in this world, as before noticed. When Mr. Mariner acquainted some of them with the Christian doctrine of eternal punishment, they said that it was "very bad in deed for the Papalangies."

577 have no word to express humanity, mercy, &c.  
 192 but *ofa*, which rather means friendship, and is  
 a word of cordial salutation: neither have they  
 any word expressive of chastity, except *nofo-  
 now*, remaining fixed or faithful, and which in  
 this sense is only applied to a married woman,  
 to signify her fidelity to her husband; but in  
 another sense it is applicable to a warrior, to  
 signify his loyalty and attachment to his chief.

577 Furthermore, when we learn that theft, revenge,  
 673 rape, and murder, under many circumstances,  
 are not held to be crimes, we shall be tempted  
 to exclaim, How miserable are these wretched  
 people! the virtues have left their abode, and  
 they are given up a prey to every evil passion!  
 The picture is indeed dark, but we must throw  
 a little more light upon it, and approach to take  
 a nearer view.

776 The Tonga people do not indeed believe in  
 any future state of rewards and punishment, but  
 778 they believe in that first of all religious tenets,  
 775 that there is a power and intelligence superior  
 to all that is human, which is able to control  
 their actions, and which discovers all their most  
 secret thoughts; and though they consider this  
 power and intelligence to be inherent in a num-  
 ber of individual beings, the principle of belief  
 is precisely the same; it is perhaps equally  
 strong, and as practically useful as if they con-

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sidered it all concentrated in their chief god. 776  
 They firmly believe that the gods approve of 778  
 virtue, and are displeased with vice; that every 775  
 man has his tutelar deity, who will protect him 784  
 as long as he conducts himself as he ought to 753  
 do; but, if he does not, will leave him to the 761  
 approaches of misfortune, disease, and death. 577  
 And here we find some ground on which to  
 establish a virtuous line of conduct: but this is  
 not sufficient: there is implanted in the human  
 breast a knowledge or sentiment which enables  
 us sometimes, if not always, to distinguish be-  
 tween the beauty of disinterestedness and the  
 foul ugliness of what is low, sordid, and selfish;  
 and the effect of this sentiment is one of the  
 strongest marks of character in the natives of  
 these islands. Many of the chiefs, on being  
 asked by Mr. Mariner what motives they had  
 for conducting themselves with propriety, be-  
 sides the fear of misfortunes in this life, replied,  
 the agreeable and happy feeling which a man  
 experiences within himself when he does any  
 good action, or conducts himself nobly and ge-  
 nerously, as a man ought to do: and this ques-  
 tion they answered as if they wondered such a  
 question should be asked. After this, we can-  
 not but suppose (unless we are led by prejudice),  
 that the seeds of very great virtues are implanted  
 in their breasts; and it would be very unrea-



276ther more. No chief comes to an inferior  
 574chief's cava party, or, if any extraordinary cir-  
 565cumstance was to make this necessary, the in-  
 ferior would be obliged to retire to his own ex-  
 276terior circle, and the superior visitor would pre-  
 574side: for the greatest chief present must always  
 565preside, unless there be an inspired priest, then  
 576he sits at the head of the circle, and the greatest  
 [799]chief in company, who would otherwise have  
 [787]that honourable situation, now retires, with  
 other chiefs, to the exterior circle, not out of  
 respect to the priest, who may be only a mooa,  
 but out of veneration to the god supposed to  
 exist within him; so that the superior circle, in  
 such a case, consists principally of matabooles  
 and mooas; for chiefs may be looked upon as  
 distant relations to the gods, and no person  
 may sit in the upper circle along with his supe-  
 rior relation; besides it is an act of humility  
 [796]demonstrating great respect. When a priest  
 presides, which is the case at all religious ce-  
 remonies, except where they are consulting  
 a god who has no priest\*, the latter always

[776] \* When a god has no priest, as Tali-y-Toobô, for instance,  
 no person actually presides at the head of his cava circle, the  
 place being left apparently vacant, but which, it is supposed,  
 [778]the god invisibly occupies. On such occasions the cava  
 party is always held before the house consecrated to the god:  
 (as in the commencement of the illness of Finow's daughter.)  
 And they go through the usual form of words, as if the first

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has the first cup; the presiding mataboole, 276  
 not actually officiating, has the second; the 574  
 third, fourth, fifth, and perhaps sixth cups, are 565  
 given to the next higher persons in the superior 576  
 circle; and then the chiefs who have retired to 796  
 the exterior circle are, out of respect, helped;  
 but this rests at the option of the officiating  
 mataboole; afterwards the remainder of the  
 superior circle are served.

At smaller cava parties, the forms and words 276  
 of ceremony are precisely the same; but when 574  
 a priest does not preside, familiar conversation,  
 and even joke and merriment, are indulged  
 in. On all occasions every individual pays the [291]  
 greatest attention to his dress, that it be de-  
 corous and well tied on, that is, with neatness\*.

We have been particular in the description of 796  
 the ceremony of preparing and drinking this in- 128

cup was actually filled and presented to the god: thus [776] <sup>778</sup>  
 before any cup is filled, the man by the side of the bowl says,  
*Cava gooa hēca*, The cava is deposited (in the cup): the ma-  
 taboole answers, *Angi ma ho egi*, Give it to your god; but  
 this is mere form, for there is no cup filled for the god.

\* Some of our readers will perhaps find some difficulty in  
 believing this, but nothing is more true than that the Tonga  
 people of any degree of rank are very particular in regard of  
 their personal cleanliness and neatness of dress; insomuch  
 that a man will often refuse to join a neighbouring cava  
 party, because the *gnatoo* which he happens to have on may  
 not be so new or so good as he could wish.

651 thanks for their divine bounty in favouring the  
 796 land with the prospect of so good a harvest,  
 788 and prays that their beneficence may be con-  
 769 tinued in future: this prayer he makes in the  
 names of several chiefs present, whom he an-  
 nounces aloud. This being done, he arises and  
 retires to his former place: the men now also  
 rise and resume their loads in the same order,  
 and, after having paraded round two or three  
 times before the grave, return back to the ma-  
 lái the same way they came, singing and blow-  
 ing the conchs as before. The chiefs and ma-

651 tabooles, a short time afterwards, rise and follow  
 796 them to the same place, where the yams are  
 now again deposited, and loosened from the  
 poles, still, however, retaining their ornaments.  
 The company seat themselves in a large circle,  
 at which Tooitonga presides; the king, and  
 other great chiefs, retiring behind among the  
 mass of the people. The other articles that  
 form part of the *Ináchi* are next brought for-  
 ward; these are dried fish, *mahoá*, mats, *gnátoo*,  
 and bundles of *mellecobla*, which, together with  
 the yams (although not cooked), are shared out

796 by one of the matabooles of Tooitonga. First,  
 793 there is a considerable share (about one fourth),  
 642 allotted to the gods, which the priests appro-  
 priate, and their servants immediately take  
 away: about one half is allotted to the king,

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which his servants, without farther orders, take away to his house, and the remainder is taken away by Tooitonga's servants. It may seem strange that the latter has a smaller share than the king, but then he has not a quarter the number of dependents to divide it among.

The materials of the *Inachi* being removed, the company form a regular cava party: some cava root is brought and prepared, and a large quantity of dressed victuals, perhaps a hundred and fifty baskets-full; a small portion of which is shared out to be eaten with the cava. While the infusion is preparing, a mataboole makes a speech to the people, stating, that as they have performed this important ceremony, the gods will protect them, and grant them long lives, provided they continue to pay due attention to religious ceremonies, and to pay respect to the chiefs. When the cava is finished, the circle separates, and the provisions are shared out to each chief according to his rank. The day concludes with wrestling, boxing, &c. after which night dances commence. When these are ended, the people retire home, perfectly assured of the protection of the gods.

At this ceremony, the quantity of provisions shared out is incredible; the people, therefore, look upon it as a very heavy tribute, though in fact the owners of the plantations

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party, where an inspired priest sits at the head ; 796  
 the circumstances of inspiration we have already 276  
 related, (Vol. I. p. 99.) and the form of serving [574]  
 out the cava when a priest presides, (Vol. II. 793  
 p. 194.) The phrase *cava fucca egi* means literally, a god-like cava. [187]  
 Laying a small piece of [769]  
 cava root before the grave of a chief or conse-  
 crated house, out of respect to a god, or to a  
 deceased relation, is called *toogoo cava*, and will  
 be mentioned in its proper order.

Tow-row is an offering of yams, cocoa-nuts, 796  
 and other vegetable productions to A'lo A'lo 782  
 (the god of weather) in particular, and to all [821]  
 the gods in general, for the purpose of ensuring [776]  
 a continuation of favourable weather, and con-  
 sequent fertility. This ceremony is first per-  
 formed at the time when the yams are approach-  
 ing maturity, in the early part of November;  
 and is repeated every ten days for seven or  
 eight times. On the day appointed by the  
 priest of A'lo A'lo, every plantation on the three  
 parts of the island, viz. the *hahagi*, *mooa*, and *hi-*  
*hifo*\* districts provide a certain quantity of yams,  
 cocoa-nuts, sugar-canes, bananas, plantains, &c.  
 all which are brought to the *malái*, tied upon sticks,  
 so that each stick, when held horizontally, has

\* *Hahagi* is the north end of any island; *hihifo* the south  
 end: the *mooa* part of the island being the centre.

[823]  
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## Gifford—Tongan Place Names

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- Apitaki.** Bartered home [api, home; taki, to barter]. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Houma—Vaea, landlord, Haateiho—Tui Haateiho, landlord, Havelu—Fielakepa, landlord, Folaha, and Nukuleka—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Fangaleounga, village on Foa island (H)—Niukapu, landlord.
- Apitalatala.** Home or tract with thorny, prickly undergrowth [api, home; talatala, thorny, prickly]. Tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Apitamakiia.** Home possessed of children [api, home; tamaki, children; i, with; a, belonging to]. Tract near Longomapu, village on Vavau island (V) Veikune, landlord.
- Apivao.** Home in the woods (bush) [api, home; vao, woods, bush]. Tract near Haavakatolo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Abomee, landlord. Also tract near Pea, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lavaka, landlord. Also tract near Navutoka, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.
- Apivaelalo.** The lower home in the woods [api, home; vao, woods; lalo, below]. Tract near Navutoka, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.
- Apo.** To burn lights in the night with one very ill or one dead. Tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.
- Aponima.** To feast five times following the reception of something valuable [apo, to feast upon the reception of something valuable; nima, five]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Apopo.** Rotten fence [a, fence; popo, rotten]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Asiale.** Enclosure of gardenias [a, enclosure; siale, gardenia]. Tract in Falefa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Asiu.** A shrub (*Cucumis acidus*). Tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.
- Ata.** A shadow. Island. Pylstaart, the southernmost Tongan island, elevation 1165 feet. Also tract near Teeki, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Motuapuka, landlord. Also tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Tract near Fataulua, village on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Ata.** Space, room. Island (T). On reef lying north of Tongatabu.
- Ataatahau.** Approaching twilight [ataata, twilight; hau, to come, to arrive]. Tract near Kolovai, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord. Also tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord. Also tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Atafau.** Space in which to gather things in bundles [ata, space, room; fau, to gather in bundles]. Tract on Tungva island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Atafolo.** To swallow a shadow [ata, shadow; folo, to swallow]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Atalama.** Shining reflection [ata, to reflect as a mirror; lama, to shine, the reflection or light from a distance]. Tract near Koloa, village on Koloa island (V).
- Atalanga.** To erect, or to originate, space [ata, space; langa, to erect, to originate]. Tract near Koloa, village on Koloa island (V). The reputed home of Maui Atalanga, the deity who thrust up the sky, which, mythology says, once lay so close over the earth that human beings could not walk upright.
- Atalao.** Perhaps a misspelling of Atalao, which means "space without bounds." Tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord.
- Atamaloetua.** Mind of god [atamai, mind; otua, god]. Tract near Mua, village on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Atata.** Shadow of the curved end of a Tongan house [ata, shadow; ta, curved end of a Tongan house]. Island (T). Also tract near Kolovai, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord.

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[776]  
[773]



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Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also island (V). Also tract near Matalaka, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract on Oloua island (V). Also tract near Sapaata, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

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823

Fainga. To persevere in being awake [fainga, to do with perseverance; a, to be awake]. Stone near Toulia, village on Vavau island (V). One of two stones formerly standing at village of Toulia. One stone has been destroyed. The two stones were believed to be the incarnation of the deities Sisi and Fainga.

Faicalalo. Lower Faica [(see preceding); ialo, below]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).

Falouata. Inland Faica [uta, inland]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).

Falohomoha. The eating of supper [fal, performance, execution; ohomoha, supper]. Tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Faipa. Tract near Kapa, village on Kapa island (V).

Faitavale. To work without order [fal, to work; tavale, without order]. Tract near Tongamamao, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

[516]

Faite. The ancient sitting posture of Tongan women, which consisted of sitting with both legs partially under the body and flexed at the knees to either the right or the left. Beach and tract near Talafu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lauaki, landlord. The beach at Talafu (new tidings) is called Faite because here a woman sat in faite fashion when conveying news of the murder of the Tui Tonga Takalaua to his children. I have one record of the place name as Talafaita instead of Faite. The stem tale means "to tell"; hence the full meaning would be "to tell while sitting in faite fashion."

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Faitokalali. To scrape the bark of the casuarina tree and use it with water to dye the hair a reddish color [fal, to do; tea, casuarina tree; kalali, to scratch]. Tract near Ahau, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lasike, landlord.

Faitokalahi. Large burying ground [faitoka, burying ground; lah, large]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Lotofa, village on Foa island (H).

Faitokolahi. The performance or work of a multitude of people [fal, performance; tokolahi, multitude]. Tract near Niutoua, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Faituunga. To make a foundation [fal, to do, to perform, to execute; tuunga, a foundation]. Tract near Haalaufu, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufu, landlord. Also tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).

Falulu. Ten stingrays [fal, stingray; ulu, ten]. Tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.

Falvavale. Slimy stingray [fal, stingray; vavale, slimy]. Tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).

Fakaala. Anything which looks best at a distance. Tract near Haalalo, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Fakaahotaha. To do a thing on one certain day [fakaaho, to do on certain days; taha, one]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maata, landlord.

Fakaahuahu. To cause a great smoke, as a signal. Tract between Kolomale and Tufuval, villages on Eua island (T). On this tract is situate the mound Pona-hiva and near it is the present race course. Perhaps the name refers to the great fire built upon the death of the Tui Tonga Tuitatui in Eua. The Tui Tonga's half brother Fasiapule, returning to Tongatabu island from Fiji, saw the fire and realizing that it must herald an event of importance, proceeded forthwith to Eua, where he learned of his brother's death.

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- Fakaamu.** A wish, longing desire; to wish, to desire. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. 103
- Fakaamumel.** To desire breadfruit [fakaamu, to desire; mel, breadfruit]. Anchorage at northern end of Lifuka island (H). At the anchorage Fakaamumel, mythology says the goddess Febuluni, travelling from Samoa to Tonga, desired breadfruit; hence the name. Also tract near Houlo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H). [773] [776]
- Fakaamunoa.** Trivial desire [fakaamu, desire; noa, trivial]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Fakaamuvaka.** To wish for a boat [fakaamu, to wish; vaka, boat]. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord.
- Fakaanu.** To be in the water. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Fakaangatonu.** To criticize correctly [fakaanga, to criticize; tonu, correct]. Tract near Nukuleka, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Fakaangiangi.** To hang or place anything in the wind to dry. Tract on Haaveva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Fakaata.** To take aim. Tract near Talafoou, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lauaki, landlord.
- Fakaatumahina.** The disappearance of the moon [fakaatu, to cease for a time; mahina, moon]. Tract near Fusamotu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.
- Fakaaungalahi.** To arrange a large gathering of people at a specified time and place [faka, to cause; aunga, to agree to meet at a specified time and place; lahi, large]. Place on weather shore of Tongatabu island (T), where there is surf.
- Fakaeteete.** To walk softly, without noise. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaes, landlord.
- Fakafafa.** To sling on a stick and carry over the shoulder. One of two huge upright monoliths on Tafahi island (NT). These two monoliths are compared by native informants to the two uprights of the trilithon on Tongatabu island. Like that trilithon the Tafahi monoliths are said to have been the burden of Maui; hence the name Fakafafa. 103 349
- Fakafai.** To cause to do. District near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). 103
- Fakafalefakau.** Like one who executes commands [faka, like; falefakau, one who executes commands]. District on Lofanga island (H).
- Fakafanua.** Like the sea coast in contrast to the depths of the sea [faka, like; fanua, the sea coast in contrast to the depths of the sea]. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.
- Fakafanuaamanu.** Flock of birds so large as to resemble the sea coast [faka, like; fanua, the sea coast in contrast to the depths of the sea; a, of; manu, birds]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Uluakala, landlord. Also hillside near Longomapu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Fakafefaahi.** Two parties, one opposing the other in play, work, or war. Two Tongan informants vouch for this meaning, which cannot be verified by the dictionaries. Tract near Pea, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lavaka, landlord.
- Fakafihl.** To confuse, to entangle. Tract near Taou, village on Vavau island (V).
- Fakafiu.** Tiresome, wearisome. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Fakafua.** To fructify. Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Fakafuenga.** To deal out in proportion. This meaning, from a single Tongan informant, remains unverified. Tract near Foul, village on Tongatabu island (T)

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- Fasikiato.** Broken outrigger sticks [*fas*i, to break; *kiato*, sticks extending from the canoe to which the outrigger is fastened]. Mound near Tufuval, village on Eua Island (T). On hill above the mound Lefelegevalu, between Tufuval and Kolomalle. See Lefelegevalu and Ponahiva.
- Fasiloka.** Rough breaking waves [*fas*i, to break; *loka*, rough, wavy, full of waves]. Tract near Afa, village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Fasipou.** Broken post [*fas*i, to break; *pou*, post]. Tract near Haalaufull, village on Vavau Island (V)—Afu Haalaufull, landlord.
- Fasitou.** Broken tou tree [*fas*i, to break; *tou*, a tree (*Cordia aspera*)]. Tract near Kapa, village on Kapa Island (V).
- Fata.** Bier, loft. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau Island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord. Also southwesternmost promontory of Vavau Island (V).
- Fatafata.** The chest. Tract near Vaini, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Maafu, landlord.
- Fatal.** A climbing plant. Tract near Masilamea, village on Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Nuku, landlord. Also village on Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka Island (H). Also tract near Pukotala, village on Haano Island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Nelafu, village on Vavau Island (V).
- Fatalialo.** Lower Fatal [see preceding; *ialo*, below, beneath, under]. Tract near Fatal, village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Fataloto.** Middle Fatal [see preceding; *loto*, middle]. Tract in Fatal, village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Fataluta.** Inland Fatal [see preceding; *uta*, inland]. Tract near Fatal, village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Fatakalapu.** Or Fatukalapu. Rock (NT). Said to be one of two rocks rather distant from Niuatoputapu; the home of the god Fatuulu. The other rock is Fatukau. [176]
- Fatamaai.** Loft of masi wood [*fata*, loft; *masi*, a tree]. Tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Fataulus.** To carry an ulua [*fata*, to carry; *ulus*, a large fish]. Tract near Haatoa, village on Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract near Multoa, village on Haano Island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also village on Niuafou Island (NF).
- Fatongi.** Carved pandanus fruit [*fa*, pandanus; *tongi*, to carve]. Tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Fatu.** To commence plaiting mats. Tract near Ahau, village on Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract near Fuaamotu, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano Island (H). Also tract near Fataulus, village on Niuafou Island (NF).
- Fatuaoho.** Thick kava made from the small roots of the plant [*fatu*, thick; *a*, of; *oho*, root of the kava plant]. Tract near Foui, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Vahai, landlord.
- Fatufala.** To prepare tapa and a fine mat in a parcel as at present. Beach on Tongatabu Island (T). In lagoon. Also tract near Taca, village on Vavau Island (V).
- Fatulanangl.** Island (H).
- Fatukaeafe.** To complain although turning aside [*fatu*, to complain; *kae*, although; *afe*, to turn aside]. Tract near Foui, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Vahai, landlord. Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu Island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

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**Fatukau.** Rock (NT). Said to be one of two rocks rather distant from Niua-toputapu; the home of the god Fatuulu. The other rock is Fatakalapu.

**Fatulele.** To commence plaiting mats of sugar cane [fatu, to commence plaiting mats; lele, a kind of sugar cane]. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract near Uihā, village on Uihā island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

**Fatuili.** To lash together the rafters of a Tongan house [fatu, to tie the rafters of a Tongan house; ili, to lash together]. Tract near Hoi, village on Tongatabu island (H).

**Fatuloa.** To besmear the abdomen [fatu, abdomen; loa, to besmear the body]. Tract near Falehau, village on Niua-toputapu island (NT). Also tract near Tafahi, village on Tafahi island (NT).

**Fatumahua.** Billiousness [fatu, the abdomen; mahua, to be split]. Tract near Haakame, village on Tongatabu island (T).

**Fatumalua.** To murmur but to cringe [fatu, to murmur; malua, to cringe]. Tract on Lofanga island (H). Also tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niua-toputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

**Fatumanga.** To fold that which is spreading [fatu, to fold; manga, spreading]. Island (V).

**Fatumu.** Rotten pandanus [fa, pandanus; tumu, rotten]. Village on Tongatabu island (T).

**Fatungakea.** Murmuring foam [fatunga, to murmur; kea, foam. In reference to inability of attackers to capture gate]. Fortress gate near Feletoa, village on Vavau island (V). The eastern gateway of the fortress of Feletoa.

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**Fatuulu.** To enter the abdomen [fatu, abdomen; ulu, to enter]. Rock on Niua-toputapu island (NT). Rock sacred to the god Fatuulu.

**Fatuvala.** Fond of the stomach, i. e. epicurean [fatu, abdomen; vale, fondness]. Tract near Utungake, village on Utungake island (V)—Tuita, landlord. Also tract near Ngaakau, village on Vavau island (V)—Fakafanus, landlord.

**Fau.** A tree, Hibiscus tiliaceus. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Nukualofa, Teeki—Motuapuaka, landlord; Nukunuku—Tui Vakano, landlord; Houma—Vaea, landlord; Haalalo, Tofoa, Polaha, Holonga, Tatakamotonga—Tungi, landlord, and Hamula—Pangia, landlord. Tract on Ofu island (V). Also tracts near villages on Vavau island (V): near Tuanuku—Ulukalala, landlord, Letmatua—Tui Peleheke, landlord, and Utui.

**Faupu.** Or Fauopu. Tract on Ofolanga island (H).

**Fausau.** To build two fences [fau, to build; a, fence; ua, two]. Tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Aftu, landlord.

**Faulava.** To repair a boat in a passage [fau, to repair; i, in; ava, passage, channel]. Tract near Haalaufu, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufu, landlord.

**Faulo.** Bursting into flame [fa, burst; ulo, flame]. Tract near Haatafu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

**Faumaka.** To build with stone [fau, to build, maka, stone]. Tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).

**Faumakauta.** Inland Faumaka [faumaka, see preceding; uta, stone]. Tract near Fakakakal, village on Haano island.

**Faumotu.** Broken fau tree [fau, a tree; motu, broken]. Tract in Ngaunoho, village on Utungake island (V).

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- Fuatanga.** Two lengths of tapa [futanga, a length of tapa; ua, two]. Tract near Foul, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vahai, landlord. 103
- Fua.** A vine. Tract near Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also village on Vavau island (V). Part of Nelafu.
- Fueafonus.** Vine of the land [fue, vine; a, of; fonua, land]. Tract near Haateiho, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Fuemes.** Brown vine [fue, vine; mes, brown]. Tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).
- Fuemotu.** Broken vine [fue, vine; motu, broken]. Place on Tongatabu island (T). On the weather shore. A place in Pulotu, the land of the gods, bears the same name. It is spoken of as the Fanakava of Pulotu. The Fanakava on earth is at Lapaha, Tongatabu, and was a sanctuary for mortals. The Fanakava of Pulotu is a sanctuary for the gods. 103 776
- Fuetahi.** Sea vine [fue, vine; tahi, sea]. Tract near Koloa, village on Koloa island (V). 103
- Fufutau.** To swell out. Well. In a portion of Pulotu, the land of the gods, known as Pulotu Tuumau.
- Fuhu.** Name of a shellfish. Southwestern extremity of Foa island (H). Also abandoned village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).
- Fuhua.** Full of shellfish called fuhu. Tract near Ahau, village on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fotofiti, landlord.
- Fui.** To hit with anything. Tract on Nukunukumotu island (T).
- Fula.** Afraid, terrified. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- Fulono.** Tract near Haakili, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Fangaleounga, village on Foa island (H)—Niukapu, landlord. Also tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V).
- Fulpa.** A streamlet used for wetting fish hooks. Tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Fukava.** Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Veltongo, Kolonga—Nuku, landlord, and Niutoua. Also island (T).
- Fukofuka.** Name of a tree. Tract near Fataulus, village on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Fukota.** Tract near Houma, village on Eua island (T).
- Fulanga.** Tract near Tofoa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Mapuka, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Fuleheh.** The name of a bird (Ptilotis carunculata). Tract near Uiba, village on Uiba island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Fuilval.** Beach on Vavau island (V). Near Mt. Kafoa.
- Fulo.** Tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.
- Funa.** To moult. Tract near Obonus, village on Eua island (T). Also tract near Foul, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vahai, landlord. Also tract on Oua island (H). Also tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract near Uiba, village on Uiba island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Fungaameame.** Unequal surface [funga, surface; ameame, unequal]. Tract near Ngaunoho, village on Utungake island (V).
- Fungaana.** Top of a cave [funga, top; ana, cave]. Tract near Vaotuu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract in Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Haalaufulu, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufulu, landlord. Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord. Also tract near Hihifo, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT). Also tract near Mataaho, village on Niuafoou (NF).



- 103 **Fungaeua.** The top of Eua [funga, top; eua, an island of the Tongatabu group]. Tract on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Malupo, landlord.
- Fungafiefa.** The height of joy [funga, top; fiefa, joy]. Tract in Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Fungafonua.** The top of the land [funga, top; fonua, land]. Tract near Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- Fungahouma.** The top of a breezy place. Tract near Taosa, village on Vavau island (V).
- Fungaka.** The top where the gods were treated with contempt [funga, top; ka, to treat the gods with contempt]. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.
- Fungakupelu.** Top of Upolu [funga, top; kupelu, Upolu island, Samoa]. Tract near Nukuhitulu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Fungalei.** The top of a whale's tooth [funga, top; lei, whale's tooth]. Tract near Navutoka, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract on Kotu island (H).
- Fungalekileki.** The top of the lekileki tree [funga, top; lekileki, a tree]. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord.
- Fungaleisalo.** The leaning of trees on top of one another after a hurricane [funga, top; lele, to run; alo, utmost degree (applied to the wind in a hurricane)]. Tract near Taosa, village on Vavau island (V).
- Fungaleipolo.** Tract near Haalaufu, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufu, landlord.
- [776] **Fungaleho.** The surface of testicles [funga, surface; leho, testicles]. Hill on Nomuka island (H). The god Folauteofi was reputed to have lived in a cave in this hill.
- Fungaloto.** The surface of deep water [funga, surface; loto, deep]. Tract near Matavai, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT). A landing place at which landing could only be accomplished at high water, hence the name.
- Fungamisi.** The top place of dreams [funga, top; misi, dream]. Tract in Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V). Site of Catholic church.
- Fungameala.** The top of the moala yam [funga, top; moala, a kind of a yam]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Fungameketu.** The top of an immovable stone [funga, top; meketu, immovable stone]. Tract in Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Fungaovava.** The top of the ovava tree [funga, top; ovava, a tree]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- Fungael.** The top of the el shrub [funga, top; el, a shrub]. Tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Fungaleounga, village on Foa island (H).
- Fungasia.** The top of the mound [funga, top; sia, artificial mound]. Hill near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Mt. Zion. Also tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract near Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Lelmatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord. Also tract near Angaha, village on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.
- Fungataca.** Tract near Haateiho, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Fungateiko.** Tract near Falevai, village on Kapa island (V)—Fakatulolo, landlord.



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**Haafakahenga.** Family like the paroquet [haa, family; faka, like; henga, paroquet (*Domicella fringillacea*)]. Tract near Tufuval, village on Eua Island (T). Said to be the name of a mountain in Wallis Island. Also tract near Alaki, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Tui Pelehake, landlord. Also tract near Pangal, village on Lifuka Island (H). Also district and tract near Faleloa, village on Foa Island (H)—Tuita, landlord.

**Haafakalaki.** Family (of chiefs) that unnecessarily shows its authority [haa, family; fakalakiaki, to exhibit, to make a show of]. Tract near Falehau, village on Niuaotuputu Island (NT).

**Haafakanapa.** Tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract near Holopeka, village on Lifuka Island (H). Also cemetery near Holopeka, village on Lifuka Island (H). Dedicated to or connected with the god Uluenga.

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**Haafama.** Industrious family [haa, family; fama, labor]. Tract near Uiba, village on Uiba Island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

**Haafata.** Family of bearers [haa, family; fata, to carry]. Tract near Lolotelle, village on Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract near Fotua, village on Foa Island (H). Also tract near Faleloa, village on Foa Island (H). Also tract on Hunga Island (V)—Fullval, landlord.

**Haafetue.** Tract on Euelki Island (T).

**Haafauea.** Tract near Uiba, village on Uiba Island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

**Haafello.** Hungry family [haa, family; fello, hungry (applied to chiefs only)]. Tract and district near Hihifo, village on Lifuka Island (H).

**Haafelotoo.** Family hungry for too shellfish [haa, family; fello, hungry (applied to chiefs only); too, a kind of shellfish]. District near Hihifo, village on Lifuka Island (H).

**Haafetuku.** Family of carriers [haa, family; fetuku, to carry, to remove]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

**Haafaunu.** Family of weavers [haa, family; faunu, to join in plaiting or weaving]. Tract near Haasini, village on Tongatabu Island (T).

**Haafaiva.** The place of a big chief. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Talasui, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Tui Lakepa, landlord. Also island (H).

**Haafatonga.** Family desiring to be Tongan [haa, family; fa, probably misspelling of fie, to desire; tonga, Tongan]. Tract near Masilamea, village on Tongatabu Island (T). This tract was probably occupied by Samoans or Fijians, hence the name.

**Haafeluta.** Family of inland Fijians [haa, family; fesi, Fijian; uta, inland]. Tract near Valpoa, village on Niuaotuputu Island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

**Haafoa.** District on Niuafoou Island (NF).

**Haafota.** Family of masseurs [haa, family; fota, to massage]. Tract on Nomuka Island (H).

**Haafotaliku.** Weather shore of Haafota [haafota (see preceding); liku, weather shore]. Southeastern point of Nomuka Island (H).

**Haafoukula.** Family of bead trimmers [haa, family; foukula, to trim with beads]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

**Haafus.** Family of jelly-fish catchers [haa, family; fus, to catch the jelly-fish]. Tract near Talasui, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.

**Haafuessia.** Family of carriers [haa, family; fuessia, to carry, to take in the arms]. Tract near Uiba, village on Uiba Island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

**Haafuipaka.** Family of the flock of flying foxes [haa, family; fuipaka, flock; paka, flying fox]. Tract near Haateiho, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

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- Haafuluhao.** Tract near Utha, village on Utha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. The Vavau group is called Haafuluhao; sometimes exclusive of Koloa island. Also spelt Haafuluhau.
- Haafune.** Family of the breadfruit core [haa, family; fune, breadfruit core]. The tract was so named because the man who lived on it used to make the breadfruit pudding (faikakai) for the Ata chiefs. Tract near Kolovai, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord. Also tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.
- Haafusia.** Family of pullers [haa, family; fusia, to pull]. Tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).
- Haahafu.** The family that drifted before the wind [haa, family; hafu, to drift before the wind]. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Kolous, Nukualofa, and Nilotua.
- Haahavea.** Family of the strong chief. Tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).
- Haaheka.** Family of sitters [haa, family; heka, to sit on anything]. Tract on Niuafuou island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.
- Haahenga.** Family of the paroquet [haa, family; henga, paroquet (*Domicella fringillacea*)]. Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Haahio.** Family on Ahio, a chief [haa, family; ahio, chief's name]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Haahoko.** Family of those who succeed [haa, family; heko, to succeed, i. e. to follow]. District on Niuafuou island (NF).
- Haahonge.** Family of famine [haa, family; honge, famine]. Tract near Fuamotu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Haahou.** Qualunish family [haa, family; hou, qualunish]. Tract near Mangia, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Houma, village on Vavau island (V).
- Haahual.** Family that spills [haa, family; hual, to spill]. Tract near Alaki, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Pelehake, landlord.
- Haahuaki.** Family of pilots [haa, family; huaki, to pilot a vessel in a passage]. Tract near Neiafu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Kanokupolu, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Haaila.** Family with a mark on the body [haa, family; lla, mark on the body]. Tract near Nilotua, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Haakaho.** Family of reeds [haa, family; kaho, reeds]. Tract near Ahau, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Laeike, landlord.
- Haakale.** Family of fast runners [haa, family; kale, to run fast]. Tract near Vaini, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Maafu, landlord.
- Haakalua.** Family of the flapping sail [haa, family; kalua, the flapping of the sail]. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Veitongo, Vaini—Maafu, landlord; Tatakamotonga—Tungi, landlord; Lapaha—Pangia, landlord; Hoi, and Fuamotu—Tungi, landlord. Also tract near Fangaleounga, village on Foa island (H)—Nlukapu, landlord. Also tracts near villages on Vavau island (V): near Tefisi—Luani, landlord; Neiafu, Leimatus—Fotu, landlord, and Holonga.
- Haakalualuo.** Family of many hollows [haa, family; kalualuo, many hollows]. Place on Vavau island (V). Near Mt. Katoa, where there are two small hills said to have been two gods, Lotu and Toka, who were changed to this form.
- Haakame.** Village and tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Haakame and Kolonga—Nuku, landlord.
- Haakamelalo.** Lower Haakame [lalo, lower]. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.

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leloa, village on Foa island (H)—Tuita, landlord. Also tract near Kapa, village on Kapa island (V). Also tract near Nuapapu, village on Nuapapu island (V). Also tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V). Also tract near Koloa, village on Koloa island (V). Also tracts near villages on Vavau island (V): near Taoo, Neiafu, Makave—Tui Afitu, landlord, Mataika, Houma, Tafuuni, and Haalaufull—Afu Haalaufull, landlord. Tract near Vei-poa, village on Niuaotuputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord. Also tract near Mus, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Luohaka. A hole cut in the trunk of a tree for holding rain water. Tract near Haalaufull, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufull, landlord.

Luoival. A water hole. Tract near Mataaho, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Luokitoki. Hole for the toki shellfish [luo, hole; ki, for; toki, shellfish]. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T).

Luoihi. A large hole [luo, hole; ihi, large]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.

Luoluvehi. [Luoluo, full of holes or pits]. Tract on Haaveva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.

Luotahi. Sea hole [luo, hole; tahi, sea]. Tract near Koloa, village on Koloa island (V).

Luotakulalo. To designate a hole below [luo, hole; taku, to designate; lalo, below]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.

Luevao. A hole in the bush [luo, hole; vao, bush, woods]. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V).

Luovi. Hole in a vi tree [luo, hole; vi, a tree (*Spondias dulcis*)]. Tract near Longomapu, village on Vavau island (V)—Velkune, landlord.

Lupe. The pigeon (*Carpophaga pacifica*). Tract near Uihia, village on Uihia island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Lupeakaungalia. Suitable tree for pigeons [lupe, pigeon; aku, tree; ngali, suitable]. Tract near Matamaka, village on Nuapapu island (V).

Lupemu. A pigeon calling to its mate. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

Lusia. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T). Also tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Mataika, village on Vavau island (V).

Lutu. To cause a sound by striking in the water. Tract on Nomuka island (H).

Lutueki. The plunge of the white tern after fish in the sea [lutu, to cause a sound by striking in the water; ekiaki, white tern (*Gygis alba*)]. Island (H).

Maasetanu. Ashamed of the burial [ma, to be ashamed; ae, the; a, of; tanu, burial]. Stream on Eua (?) island (T). A stream of water said to have originated from water dripping from wet mat worn by Tui Haatala, a disembodied human spirit, when he hung it on a tree.

Maafu. The burning of a god-house. Tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulival, landlord.

Maakeake. Capable of convalescing [ma, capable of; akeake, convalescent]. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V).

Maiala. Cleared of weeds and rubbish. Tract near Haavakatolo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ahomes, landlord.

Maiafoha. Plantation of large yams [maia, plantation of yams; foha, large, applied to yams]. Tract near Mangia, village on Vavau island (V).

Maialeva. A garden forthwith [maia, garden; leva, forthwith]. Tract near Maafanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord.

Maalamua. A garden formerly [maia, garden; mua, formerly]. Tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

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- Malapule.** The governing evil (death) [mala, evil; pule, to govern]. Tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord. 103
- Malata.** A main shark struck [mala, a kind of shark; ta, to strike]. Tract on Matuku island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract near Feletoa, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).
- Malavelato.** Perhaps Malaveloto; to be fixed in the mind [malave, to be fixed or fastened; loto, the mind]. Tract near Taqa, village on Vavau island (V).
- Maleatuli.** A followed track [malea, a track, footmarks; tuli, to chase, to pursue]. Tract near Ahau, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Malekini.** Name of a kind of yam. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).
- Malekoi.** Name of a tree. Tract near Fouti, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vahai, landlord.
- Malele.** To incline to, to lean. Tract near Haalaufulu, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufulu, landlord.
- Malelenga.** The shallow passage. Tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Nuku, landlord.
- Malepone.** Melbourne. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Mallelaungutu.** To be pleased with the talk of the mouth [malle, to be pleased; lau, talk; ngutu, mouth]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Malletala.** To tell pleasantly [malle, pleasing; tala, to tell]. Tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).
- Mallifu.** Quickened. Streamlet on Tongatabu island (T). Near Mua (Tatakamotonga and Lapaha).
- Mallia.** Old tobacco leaf. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Mallimaili.** To smile. Tract near Uifa, village on Uifa island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Taqa, village on Vavau island (V).
- Mallimaililoto.** To smile in the mind [mallimaili, to smile; loto, the mind]. Stream near Pangai, village on Eua island (T). A small, clear, mirror-like stream said to have belonged to the god Tui Haafakafanua. A man named Vainuku, who dwelt beside it, was made very handsome by the god. Near Vainuku's house was a mirror (haka), a receptacle containing water from the stream. The mirror was named Katall. [776] [773]
- Mallinoa.** Unsettled, not fixed, here and there and everywhere. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also island (T). In the poem on page 8, "the falling and rising of Mallinoa when Tonga stands facing the wind" refers to the island as seen from the deck of a vessel when the rising and falling waves alternately reveal and hide the island from view. [539]
- Mallisa.** Tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).
- Maloa.** Many winners of games. Tract near Alaki, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Pelehake, landlord.
- Malofafa.** An old thing. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Maloku.** Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract and district near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Holopeka, village on Lifuka island (H).
- Maloto.** The name of a tree. Tract near Fahefa, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veehala, landlord. Also tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract on Tofua island (H).
- Matoloi.** Resting, quiescent. Tract on Tongatabu island (T). On weather shore.
- Malu.** Mild, milder applied to the wind. Tract near Vaotuu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

- 103 Maluauma. To cringe and bend the shoulders [malua, to cringe; uma, the shoulder]. Tract near Petani, village on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Maluhola. Moving shadow [malu, shadow; hola, to move away]. Tract in Lotofa, village on Foa island (H). Tract near Fue, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract and woods near Leimatus, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Pelehake, landlord.
- Malui. Protection, shelter. Tract on Lofanga island (H).
- Malulaungatu. To relax hold on tapa pinched or held with the fingers [malu, to let go, to relax; lau, to pinch with the fingers; ngatu, tapa]. Tract near Tongamamao, village on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Malumeimua. What a ceremonial attendant (matapule) says to one who carves pork when he wishes the back cut in two equal portions. Tract near Haatafu, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Mamafufu. A hiding sea mouse [mama, sea mouse; fufu, to hide]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Mamaha. Shallow. Pocket at southern end of lagoon, Nomuka island (H).
- Mamahi. Pain. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V).
- Mamaleva. Light at once [mama, light; leva, at once]. Tract near Tataka-motonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.
- Mamanamauahō. To possess a lover by day [mamana, lover; mau, to possess; aho, day]. Tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).
- Mamatataemaukava. To see unobtainable kava [mamata, to see; taemau, not obtainable; kava, the shrub (*Piper methysticum*)]. A hellala tree on or near Mt. Kafa, Vavau island (V). This tree stands on the Halakavakava or Bridge road.
- Mamoe. Tract near Tefsi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.
- Mamomoko. Cold bread [ma, bread; momoko, cold]. Tract near Leimatus, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.
- Manafalava. Tract near Haatafu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Hofoa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Manahau. Mana of the reigning prince [mana, mana; hau, reigning prince, conqueror]. Northwest-by-west gate of the fortress Hula, near Matafonua, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Fatai, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Manahia. Sinful supernatural (object) [mana, supernatural; hia, sinful]. Rock on Eua island (T). A great smooth round rock (apparently pillar-shaped) standing in Eua on the edge of a cliff. Nobody can climb it now, as it is too smooth; but tradition says that former generations used to race up and down it. The name is used proverbially of anything large.
- 173 Manaiange. To cause something to happen to another [manai, to cause something to happen to another; ange, towards]. Tract on Uiha (?) island (H), belonging to the god Kafolaatu who was incarnate in the kulukulu fruit dove (*Ptilinopus porphyreus*).
- Manaka. Former village on central part of Tofua island (H).
- Manakotala. To like the white tern [manako, to like; tala, the white tern (*Gygis alba*)]. Tract near Folaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Manakovaka. To like a vessel [manako, to like; vaka, the general name for all vessels that sail]. Tract near Utui, village on Vavau island (V)—Ahomee, landlord.
- Manamamaka. Fish in squally weather [manamama, squally; ika, fish]. Tract near Felemaa, village on Uiha island (H).
- Manamate. To bewitch to death [mana, to bewitch; mate, death]. Tract near Petani, village on Niuafoou island (NF).
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**Mohemate.** Death sleep [mohe, to sleep; mate, death]. Tract near Haasini, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Kotu island (H). Also tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H). 103

**Mohemohe.** Name of a tree. Two tracts on Hunga island (V)—Fullival and Tui Lakepa, landlords.

**Mohenga.** Bed. See Moenga. Sleeping place of mortal woman Ilaheva and the god Tangaloa Eitumatupua who was father of the first Tui Tonga. Place on Tongatabu island (T). 773  
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**Mohepongia.** Fainting sleep [mohe, sleep; pongia, to faint]. Tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).

**Mohetol.** To sleep out of sight [mohe, to sleep; tol, to keep out of sight]. Tract on Okoa island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.

**Mohetoto.** To congeal the blood [mohe, to congeal; toto, blood]. Tract on Niuafu island (NF).

**Moho.** The rail (*Ortygometra tabuensis*). Place on Tongatabu island (T). On the lagoon.

**Mohokol.** Name of a tree. Tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H). Also tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V). Also tracts near villages on Vavau island (V): near Nelafu, Mangia, and Tuanekivale.

**Mohukal.** Plentiful food [mohu, plentiful; kal, food]. Tract near Puke, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fohe, landlord.

**Mohuloto.** Abundant in the center [mohu, abundant; loto, center]. Tracts near village on Tongatabu island (T): near Kolovai—Ata, landlord, Havelu—Fielakepa, landlord, Vaini—Maafu, landlord, Lapaha—Pangia, landlord, and Nukuleka—Pangia, landlord.

**Mohuufi.** Abundant yams [mohu, abundant; ufi, yam]. Tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H)—Tuita, landlord. Also tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H).

**Moka.** Bent. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).

**Moko.** Gecko. A level plateau near the top of Eua island (T). Named for a great gecko god who dwelt there. He was slain by Maui Kieikisi, who found him sleeping with his mouth open and who noosed and pulled out his tongue with a piece of paper mulberry bark. 776  
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**Mokohunu.** Sea slug. Islet (T). In lagoon of Tongatabu island.

**Mokol.** Cold. Tract near Angaha, village on Niuafu island (NF).

**Mokotau.** A fighting gecko [moko, gecko; tau, to fight]. Rock near Tongatabu island (T). Just west of Oneval island.

**Mekotu.** Tract on Lofanga island (H). Also tract near Multoa, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract in Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Angaha, village on Niuafu island (NF). Also tract near Fataulua, village on Niuafu island (NF).

**Mokotuu.** Standing gecko [moko, gecko; tuu, to stand]. Tract near Longoteme, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veikuna, landlord.

**Mola.** Without cause. Tract on Fetoa island (H).

**Molaea.** To appear plainly without cause [mola, without cause; ea, to appear plainly]. Tract in Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).

**Moli.** Orange. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Abau, Lakepa—Lasike, landlord, Utulau, Haateiho—Tui Haateiho, landlord, Nukualofa, Velitongo, Nukuhitulu, Tatakamotonga—Tungi, landlord, and Fuaamotu—Tungi, landlord. Also tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract on Haaveva island (H)—Tuubetoka, landlord. Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Haalaufulu, village on Vavau island (V) Afu Haalaufulu, landlord. Also tract on Niuafu island (NF).



- 103 Mollanga. Orange place [moll, orange; anga, place]. Tract on Taunga island (V)—Akaula, landlord.
- Molikofietul. Orange tree of the pretender to the kingship [moll, orange; ko, prefix; fie, desiring, wish; tul, king]. Orange tree near Feletoa, village on Vavau island (V).
- Molimheha. Orange slipped in [moll, orange; mehea, to be slipped in]. Tract in Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Molipeli. The mandarin orange. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Molituuu. Double-growing orange trees [moll, orange; tuu, to stand; ua, two]. Tract in Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Molo. To tread. District near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).
- Mololo. To be stamped upon. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract near Fuaamotu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.
- Momi. Fallen in, indented. Tract near Uifa, village on Uifa island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Monol. A tree. Tract on Ofolanga island (H).
- Monotapu. Sacred calking [mono, calking for a canoe; tapu, sacred]. Cemetery near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).
- Monu. Felicity. Reef (T). Also tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.
- Monuafa. A thousand blessings [monu, blessing; afa, thousand]. Tract near Havelu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fielakepa, landlord. Also tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Nuku, landlord. Also island near Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Ofu island (V). Also tract on Oloua island (V).
- Moota. Name of a tree. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Mosimosi. A light shower. Tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H).
- Moso. One of two very smooth islets close to Matalanga, Utungake island (V), the second being Niumano. They are said to be the transformed sons of Maui. The larger is not more than 30 feet in diameter. See also Mosolahi and Mososii.
- [773] Mosolahi. Large Moso [lahi, large]. One of two rocks (the other being Mososii) reputed to be the transformed sons of one of the Maui, who resided at Ngaunoho, Utungake island (V) and who is said to have killed and cast into the sea nearby, his sons Mosolahi and Mososii. See Niumano and Moso.
- [773] Mosomaka. Rock of Moso [maka, rock]. A rock on Moungaone island (H) in which dwelt the gods Pusipapanga and Moso.
- [776] Mososii. Little Moso [sii, little]. One of two rocks (the other being Mosolahi) reputed to be the transformed sons of one of the Maui, who resided at Ngaunoho, Utungake island (V), and who is said to have killed and cast into the sea nearby, his sons Mosolahi and Mososii.
- [773] Mote. Said to be a Fijian word meaning sleep. Tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H). Also tract on Okoa island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord. Also Tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.
- Motehangahifo. That one should bend down or look downwards. Tract near Masilamea, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Motelolo. Name of a tree. Tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.
- Motelolelo. The flower buds for perfuming oil [mote, bud; lolo, oil]. Tract near Kanokupolu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

- 103 Mullafanini. A "grave" at bottom of Bay of Mua (part of great lagoon). Tongatabu island (T), between Moun gatapu and Nahafu, reputed to be the burial place of the shark Tenifates an incarnation of the god Taufaitahi.
- [773] Mulikeu. Yam of the foreigner [muli, foreigner; keu, yam]. Tract near Lei-
- [776] matua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.
- Muliolo. An ensnaring foreigner [muli, foreigner; eio, to ensnare]. Tract on Lofanga island (H). Also tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.
- Mullutu. Foreigners gathering in [muli, foreigner; utu, to gather in]. Tract on Niuafou island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.
- Munia. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Munita. Tract near Fangaleounga, village on Foa island (H)—Niukapu, landlord.
- Munoa. To be unacquainted with what is going on. Tract near Utui, village on Vavau island (V)—Veikuna, landlord.
- Muomua. To precede, to lead. Tract near Haateiho, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract near Hamula, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also island (V).
- Musie. One kind of grass. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Talafoou—Lauaki, landlord, Navutoka—Tungi, landlord, and Fuaamotu—Tungi, landlord. Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.
- Musiekena. Dry grass [musie, a kind of grass; kena, dry]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.
- Musiekenatahi. Dry grass by the sea [musie, grass; kena, dry; tahi, sea]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.
- Musielalo. Lower Musie [lalo, lower]. Tract near Navutoka, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.
- Musieuta. Inland Musie [uta, inland]. Tract near Navutoka, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.
- Muti. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord. Said to be named after a lawyer named Moody.
- Naakelaunoa. You talk at random [naake, you; lau, to talk; noa, random]. Tract near Haalaufulu, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufulu, landlord.
- [773] Nafanus. One of two rocks near Eua (?) which mythology says were originally
- [776] twin goddesses. Topukulu is the second rock.
- Nafualu. Dyeing the alu plants for basket making [nafu, to dye; alu, name of a creeping plant]. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Vaotuu—Tui Vakano, landlord, Nukualofa, Tatakamotonga—Tungi, landlord, and Lapaha—Pangia, landlord. Also tract and district near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).
- Nafunoa. To throw things about in a careless manner. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.
- Nahafu. A place in bay of Mua, near Fulpa, Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Nahakalau. A speech that was made with gesticulations [na, it was; haka, gesticulation; lau, rumor, talk]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract (of the god Tangakina) near Koulo, village on Lifuka island (H).
- Nahau. It came [na, it was; hau, to come]. Tract near Folaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Falevai, village on Kapa island (V)—Fakatulolo, landlord.

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Pukotuutaha. One standing puko tree [puko, a tree; tuu, to stand; taha, one]. 103  
Tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).

Pukovili. The name of a tree. Tract on Atata island (T)—Ata, landlord. Also tract on Niuafuou island (NF).

Pula. A cowry. Tract near Nukuleka, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).

Pulefanga. To govern the landing place [pule, to govern; fanga, landing place]. Tract near Folaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Puleia. That which is governed [pule, to govern]. Tract near Haatafu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Puleieia. To be governed by himself [pulei, to be governed; e, by; ia, himself]. Village on Ofolanga island (H).

Pulekeleva. Governor forthwith [pule, governor; ko, prefix; leva, forthwith]. Tract in Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Pulemouli. Governor of life [pule, governor; mouli, life]. A tract on Uihia island (H), that formerly belonged to a deity.

Puleniasi. In charge of the fire [pulen, in charge of; asi, fire]. Place (T).

Pulepuleinu. Pulepule shellfish drinking [pulepule, a shellfish; inu, to drink]. Tract near Fataulua, village on Niuafuou island (NF).

Pulepulekai. Pulepule shellfish eating [pulepule, a shellfish; kai, to eat]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Ngaunoho, village on Utungake island (V). Also tract on Niuafuou island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.

Pulesi. A cowry tossed or thrown along [pule, cowry; si, to toss or throw along]. Tract on Fetoa island (H).

Puletahi. Sea cowry [pule, cowry; tahi, sea]. Tract on Nomuka island (H).

Pullimokau. Hidden and conquered [pull, hidden; mokau, conquered]. Tract on Niuafuou island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.

Pullinitu. Tract near Haalaufulu, village on Vavau island (V).

Pulotu. The land of the departed and home of certain of the gods. Tract near 775  
Kolova, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord. Also tract near La- 776  
paha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract on  
Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract near Koloa, village on  
Koloa island (V).

Pulotuakaaka. Rooty Pulotu [akaaka, rooty, full of roots]. A place in Pulotu, 103  
the land of the departed, evidently in the "interior," as Pulotutuuman is at 775  
the entrance.

Pulotutuuman. Steadfast Pulotu [tuuman, steadfast]. A place in Pulotu, the  
land of the departed, at which vessels from the world of mortals first arrive.

Pulu. Husk of the coconut. Tract near Alaki, village on Tongatabu island (T) 103  
—Tui Pelehake, landlord.

Pulupulu. The gummy substance from the banana. Tract near Nukualofa, vil-  
lage on Tongatabu island (T).

Pumalili. Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.

Pumeltahi. Tract near Haatoa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Puna. A leap, a bound. Streamlet near Pea, village on Tongatabu island (T).  
Also tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.  
Also tract near Talasii, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Lakepa, land-  
lord. Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Named after the  
streamlet Puna, near Pea, Tongatabu, the original home of Tevita Uaai, the  
holder of this tract. The older name of the tract is Moka. Also tract near  
Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

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lage on Kapa Island (V). Also tract near Angaha, village on Niuafuou Island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.

Simata. To hit the eye. Tract on Ofu Island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.

Simeika. Tract near Makave, village on Vavau Island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord.

Simeio. Ripe si [si, a shrub; meio, ripe]. Tract near Manuka, village on Tongatabu Island (T).

Simua. The first si plant [si, a shrub; mua, first]. Tract on Fonofua Island (H)—Tui Afitu, landlord.

Sinea. To throw anything away for nothing [si, to toss; nea, for nothing, random]. Tract on Ovaka Island (V).

Sineleiki. Chiefs in blood [sine, body; i, in; eiki, chief]. District in eastern part of Hihifo, district on Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract near Kolovai, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Ata, landlord.

Sio. Name of a shellfish. Tract near Tokomololo, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Maafu, landlord. Also tract near Hof, village on Tongatabu Island (T).

Siofele. Scattered sio shellfish [sio, shellfish; fele, to be scattered]. Tract in Fatai, village on Tongatabu Island (T).

Siofite. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu Island (T).

Sionoa. To look for nothing [sio, to look; noa, for nothing]. Tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu Island (T).

Sipalia. The end of a sail [sipai, end; ia, sail]. Tract on Niuafuou Island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.

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Sipangai. To throw to Pangai [si, to throw; pangai, meeting place of chief]. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua Island (T). Also place on weather shore of Eua Island (T), and within the hereditary lands formerly belonging to Hama of the "clan" of Haa Takalaua.

Sipi. The noise by which it is known the party has killed an enemy. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua Island (T).

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Sisai. A dress for working in, made from the leaves of the si plant. One of two stones formerly standing at the village of Toula, Vavau Island (T). The stones were believed to be the deities Sisai and Faingaa. One stone has been destroyed.

Sisela. Covered with leaf dresses. Tract near Koulo, village on Lifuka Island (H). Also tracts near Kapa and Vakataumai, villages on Kapa Island (V). Island (V). Also tract near Mataika, village on Vavau Island (V).

Sisialuo. Hole covered with leaf dresses [sisela, covered with leaf dresses; luo, hole]. Tract near Mataika, village on Vavau Island (V).

Sisifa. To glide, to shoot along. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka Island (H).

Sisihalaika. Leaf dress of the fish road [sisai, a dress of leaves; hala, road; ika, fish]. Mound on Tongatabu Island (T). On weather shore.

Sitake. To crack a young coconut for drinking, sitaki. Tract near Houma, village on Vavau Island (V).

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Siutama. To seek sharks belonging to boys [siu, to seek sharks; a, belonging to; tama, boy]. Place on Tongatabu Island (T). On the weather shore. Also beach on Tofua Island (H). The name refers to the youths of Tofua Island who were transformed into sharks.<sup>22</sup> Also tract on Fotuhaa Island (H).

Siufanga. Canoe-racing beach [siu, to race with paddling canoes; fanga, beach]. Beach on Tongatabu Island (T). On weather shore.

Siulangapo. To set out to seek sharks in the night [siu, to seek sharks; langa, to set in motion; po, night]. Tract near Kolovai, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Ata, landlord. Also tract near Foul, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Vahai, landlord.

103 Taanganu. The cutting down of coconut trees [taanga, the cutting down of wood; nu, coconut tree]. Tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Nuku, landlord.

Taangapolata. The cutting down of banana trees [taanga, the cutting down of wood; polata, the stem of the banana plant]. Tract near Taofa, village on Vavau island (V). Also a place at Haakalualuo, near Mr. Kafa, Vavau island (V). Here two gods, Lotu and Toka, who were afterwards transformed into little hills, cut banana stems with which to swim. The element they tried to swim in was not the sea, as they thought, but mist, and when they kicked out to swim they hit the ground. When day came they rushed forth and became two small hills.

Taasokiki. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).

Taamanaki. Not anticipated. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord. Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.

Taetaetua. Without a commoner mother [tae, without; fae, mother; tua, commoner]. See next name which may be the correct rendering. Tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Taefaitua. Not doing anything outside [tae, not; fai, to do; tua, outside]. See preceding name which may be the correct rendering. Tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Taehale. Not appearing inside [tae, not; ha, to appear; leto, inside]. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord. Also tract near Matamaka, village on Nupapu island (V).

Taeloa. Unknown. Tract near Ahau, village on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.

Taemangal. Unable to walk. Tract near Feletoa, village on Vavau island (V).

Taemangol. Unsubdued, unconquered. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Taemaupl. Not obtainable tract [taemau, not obtainable; api, tract]. District on Lofanga island (H).

Taepau. Undetermined. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Taepu. Not blowing or puffing. Tract near Nukuhitulu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Taetoua. Being without someone who makes the kava beverage. Tract in Fofaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Taeufiuli. Uncovered. Tract near Falehau, village on Nuiatoputapu island (NT).

Tafaakiliangi. The horizon. Tract near Fatai, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Also tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).

Tafaata. To taste of freedom [tafa, to taste of; ata, free, disengaged]. Name said to have been given by Kinikiniuau, the lover of the daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu Atamatatia. Tract on Nukunukumotu island (T).

Tafahi. To strike and split [ta, to strike; fahi, to split]. Tract in Maufanga, village of Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Lakepa, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lasi, landlord. Also tract near Uifa, village on Uifa island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also village on Tafahi island (NT). Also island named Bosawen (NT). Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Tafahiau. Talkative Tafahi [iau, talkative]. Tract near Tafahi, village on Tafahi island (NT).

Tafaitua. To gash the back [tafai, to gash; tua, back]. Tract on Fotubaa island (H). Also tract near Multoa, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Tafakihalamaka. To cut to the stone road [tafa, to cut; ki, to; hala, road; maka, stone]. Tract in Koloua, village on Tongatabu island (T).



103 Tanumapope. To bury the dead by numbers when rotten [tanuma, to bury the dead by numbers; pope, rotten]. Inlet of great lagoon on either side of which are the rocks Ila and Hava, on Tongatabu island (T).

Tanga. The large gut. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Tangalahi. Large large gut [tanga, large gut; lahi large]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

[776] Tangaloa. Long large gut [tanga, large gut; loa, long]. Place on Tongatabu island (T). Also the name of a god. Also tract near Nuapapu, village on Nuapapu island (V).

Tangamoliuku. A sack of shaddocks [tanga, sack; moluku, one kind of shaddock]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Tangatahaamea. The man Haamea [tangata, man; haamea, name of son of present Ulukalala, for whom this rest mound (eal) was built]. Mound near Feletoa, village on Vavau island (V).

Tangatasito. The conqueror in the wrestling match. Island (V).

Tangatavala. Foolish man [tangata, man; vale, foolish]. Tract near Tongamamao, village on Niusfoou island (NF).

Tangatumau. To beat tapa always [ta, to beat; ngatu, tapa; mau, always]. Tract near Taou, village on Vavau island (V).

Tangatuona. The man who has overthrown all wrestlers. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V).

Tangavale. A fool's gut [tanga, large gut; vale, fool]. Tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord.

Tangavel. A place of obtaining water [tanga, place; vel, water]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Tangiatu. To cry for something. Tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H).

Tangiatua. The complaining of commoners [tangl, complaining; a, of; tua, commoners]. Tract near Haalaufu, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufu, landlord.

Tangifoki. Crying likewise [tangl, to cry; foki, likewise]. Tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord. Also tract in Makave, village on Vavau island (V).

Tangimafili. To cry and roll about [tangl, to cry; mafili, to roll about]. Tract on Ovaka island (V).

Tangimamao. To cry from the distance [tangl, to cry; mamao, distance]. Tract near Holopeka, village on Lifuka island (H)—Tui Afitu, landlord. Also tract near Utulei, village on Pangaimotu island (V).

Tangimea. To cry for property [tangl, to cry; mea, property]. Tract on Nomuka island (H).

Tangimusu. The cry of surrender [tangl, a cry; musu, to surrender]. Tract near Falevai, village on Kapa island (V)—Fakatulolo, landlord.

Tangitangi. Flowers partially open. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Tangitonima. To fall on hands while crying [tangl, to cry; to, to fall; nima, hand]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Taou. Abundance of spears [tao, spear]. Tract near Pea, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lavaka, landlord. Also tract near Nukuhitulu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H). On this tract was situated the god-house of the deity Hikuleo. Also tract near Mufitoa, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Falevai, village on Kapa island (V)—Fakatulolo, landlord. Also tract near Tusanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord. Also village on Vavau island (V).



*Gifford—Tongan Place Names*

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- Taokave.** A superior kind of coconut. Tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord. 103
- Tapakilate.** To glitter in the sun in Late [tapa, to glitter in the sun; ki, in; late, a volcanic island west of Vavau]. Tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulival, landlord.
- Tapakofe.** The edge of the bamboo [tapa, edge; kofe, bamboo]. Tract near Matafonua, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.
- Tapana.** To strike and stunt [ta, to strike; pana, to stunt]. Tract near Utungake, village on Utungake island (V)—Tuita, landlord. A deity is supposed to have lived in this island and to have stolen a child from a woman. He struck the child on the head, which act stopped the child's growth. Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also island (V). [776] [773]
- Tapanga.** Place which glitters in the sun [tapa, to glitter in the sun; nga, place]. Tract near Utui, village on Vavau island (V)—Veikune, landlord.
- Tapatalu.** Dwarf, pigmy. Tract on Nuafoou island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.
- Tapatapa.** To glitter. Tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.
- Tapatapao.** Edge of the clouds [tapatapa, edge; ao, cloud]. The second highest peak of the island of Eua (T).
- Tapakita.** To talk bad of oneself. Tract near Felemea, village on Uiha island (H).
- Tapoua.** Two tapo fishing nets [tapo, a certain kind of fishing net; ua, two]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Tapuelli.** Forbidden to dig [tapu, forbidden; eili, to dig]. Tract near Felemea, village on Uiha island (H).
- Tapufoiau.** Forbidden to sail [tapu, forbidden; foiau, to sail]. Tract near Houma, village on Vavau island (V).
- Tapuhia.** Forbidden to sin [tapu, forbidden; hia, to sin]. Tract near Kolomailie, village on Eua island (T). Also tracts in and near Folahe, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Tapuili.** Consecrated (or reserved) for reproduction [tapu, consecrated; ili, what is kept or reserved for reproduction]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Tapukaisi.** Forbidden to eat si plant [tapu, forbidden; kai, to eat; si, a shrub]. Tract on Okoa island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.
- Tapukalanga.** Forbidden to shout [tapu, forbidden; kalanga, to shout]. Tract near Talaslu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.
- Tapukitea.** Evening star.
- Taputau.** Forbidden to fight [tapu, forbidden; tau, to fight]. Tract in Pea, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Taputoos.** Forbidden to be opened [tapu, forbidden; toos, to be opened]. Tract near Haatafu, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Tapuvao.** Bush prohibition [tapu, prohibition; vao, bush]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Tasamenia.** Tasmania. Tract near Fetoa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Tata.** Near, not distant. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T).
- Tataatefa.** To rub in a loving and caressing manner [tata, to rub; a, of; tefa, a loving and caressing manner]. Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.
- Tatafa.** To pass along with speed. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also island (H).
- Tatafoou.** A new covering for the top of the thatch of a house [tata, a covering for the top of the thatch of a house; foou, new]. Tract near Fotua, village on Foa island (H)—Tui Pelehake, landlord.

- 103 Topukulu. One of two rocks near Eua (?) island (T), which mythology says were originally twin goddesses. The other rock is called Nafanua. Also tract on Nomuka island (H).
- [773] Tosi. [Tosi, to peck, no nibble]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- [776] Total. A mythical island in Puloa, the realm of the departed.
- [775] Toto. The name of a tree. Tract near Longoteme, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veikune, landlord. Also district on Nomuka island (H). Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Haalaufull, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufull, landlord.
- Totoangato. Central bleeding place [toto, to bleed; anga, place; toto, center]. Tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord.
- Totoe. To groan, to mourn. Tract on Eueki island (T).
- Totoea. Toto tree appearing plainly [toto, a tree; ea, to appear plainly]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.
- Totoka. To sink as sediment. Tract on Atata island (T)—Ata, landlord.
- Totokafonusa. Land sediment [totoka, sediment; fonua, land]. Tract on Ovaka island (V).
- Totokavalu. Scraped sediment [totoka, sediment; valu, to scrape]. Tract near Feletoa, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- Totototo. Bloody. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Tou. Name of a tree and its berries which are used as a paste. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- Toufale. Houses built close together. Tract near Haasini, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Touheki. A tree. Tract near Napua, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Touhuni. Name of a tree. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also place on Tongatabu island (T). On weather shore. Also tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord.
- [776] Toulaafutuna. The rock from which the primeval gods were born.
- [773] Toukallave. To hit the fruit trees when loaded with fruit [toukal, the time for fruit trees bearing; lave, to hit]. Tract near Kanokupolu, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Toula. To fall in the ula dance [to, to fall; ula, a dance]. Village on Vavau island (V).
- Toulavaka. Time for making boat sail [tou, time for; ia, sail; vaka, boat]. Tract near Ngaunoho, village on Utungake island (V)—Motuapuaka, landlord.
- Toulofahi. Time to be overwhelmed [tou, time; lelohi, to be overwhelmed]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Toulu. Full of leaves. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord. Also tract near Niutoua, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Toumata. A shade for the eyes. Tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).
- Toumasu. Extreme firmness. Tract near Houma, village on Eua island (T).
- Toumotua. Old tou tree [tou, a tree; motua, old]. Tract on Moungaone island (H).
- Toumua. Beside the road. Tract near Kanokupolu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Pangai village on Lifuka island (H).
- Toumuua. Having two sides. Tract near Fahefa, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veehala, landlord.

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[773] Tuutuukautaja. To talk about a person while he is near. A place on Lofanga island (H), where a clump of banana trees stood and at which the legendary hero Muni overheard the derogatory remarks of his foster parents.

Tuutuungeesapi. The cutting up of the empty tract [tuutuu, to cut into pieces; ngeesi, empty; api, tract]. Tract near Kei, village on Vavau island (V).

Tuuvaitapu. Where sacred water stands [tuu, to stand; vai, water; tapu, sacred]. Tract near Koulo, village on Lifuka island (H).

Tuuvалу. Eight standing [tuu, to stand; valu, eight]. Tract near Mua, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Tuvana. To curse. Tract near Folaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Tuvao. Bush ground dove [tu, ground dove (*Phlogoenas stairi*); vao, bush]. Tract near Falevai, village on Kapa island (V)—Fakatulolo, landlord. Also two tracts on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai and Tui Lakepa, landlords. Also tract on Okoa island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord. Also tracts near villages on Vavau island (V): near Longomapu—Veikune, landlord, Neiafu, Houma, Taanea—Vahai, landlord, Tuanekivale, and Leimatus—Fotu, landlord. Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuaotuputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord. Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Uai. Shelter there [u, shelter; ai, there]. Ridge flanking west side of Tuaki-laumea canyon, Eua island (T).

Uakalvale. Foolish greediness [uakai, greediness; vale, foolish]. Tract near Lavengatonga, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Ualake. Formerly the special property of the Tui Tonga. Tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Ualangalalo. Raised by a lever from below [ua, to raise by lever; langa, to set in motion; lalo, below, beneath]; or off shore Ualanga [lalo, off shore]. Reef near Tongatabu island (T).

Ualangauta. Inshore Ualanga [ualanga (see preceding); uta, inshore]. Reef near Tongatabu island (T).

Ualapo. To raise by lever and make hollow [ua, to raise by lever; lapo, to make hollow]. Tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Nuku, landlord.

Uanoa. To ward off at random [ua, to ward off; noa, random]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Uanukuhake. Eastern land raised by a lever [ua, to raise by a lever; nuku, land; hake, eastern]. Island (H).

Uanukuhifo. Western land raised by a lever [uanuku (see preceding); hifo, western]. Island (H).

Uatoloa. To raise by a lever and cast overboard [ua, to raise by a lever; toloa, to cast overboard]. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.

Uea. Also spelt Uvea. The name of Wallis island. Tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Uealiku. Weather shore of Wallis island [uea, Wallis island; liku, weather shore]. Tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

[773] Ufimoufi. Yam and yam [ufi, yam; mo, and]. So named because myth says that here the yams stolen and swallowed by the goddess Fehuluni in Samoa, fell from the goddess' rectum. See also Muikuku and Hakaumuikuku.

[776] Uhalmahu. Rain in abundance [uha, rain; i, in; mahu, abundance]. House or holy place (potu tapu) of the god Uluenga, near Holopeka (?), village on Lifuka (H).

Uhakellelei. Rain while pleasant [uha, rain; lei, while; lelei, pleasant]. Tract near Leimatus, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Pelehake, landlord.

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[775]

**Valola.** The living water [val, water; ola, alive]. Stream on Eua island (T). In a Tongan tale is mentioned a pool of the same name in Samoa, the sacred pool of the goddess Hina. Another Valola is the lake situated in Puloa, the land of the departed, over which the god Hikuleo holds sway. Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).

**Valomanu.** Water of the animal [val, water; o, of; manu, animal]. Tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V).

**Valomisi.** Water of dreams [val, water; o, of; misi, dream]. Tract near Otea, village on Kapa island (V).

**Valomoho.** Water of the rail [val, water; o, of; moho, the rail (*Ortygometra tabuensis*)]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

**Valopa.** Stream of slopping [val, stream; o, of; pa, to slop]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

**Valpaha.** Water that breaks out [val, water; paha, to break out]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

**Valpakola.** Water of low commoners [val, water; pakola, a Fijian term signifying "low commoner"; also used as an exclamation with the meaning, "Dfe, you wretches"]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Uiukalala, landlord.

**Valpapa.** Smooth water [val, water; papa, even, smooth]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

**Valpoa.** Water with the smell of fish [val, water; poa, the smell of fish]. Two tracts near Nukualofa and Folahe, villages on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H)—Tui Pelehake, landlord. Also tract near Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord. Also tract near Haakio, village on Vavau island (V). Also the name of a mythical bit of sea water formerly at Haakio. It was carried away in the mouth of a god and finally deposited at Tufumahina, Tongatabu island. Also village on Niuafoou island (NF). Also tract near Tongamamao, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

[773]

**Valpoata.** Inland Valpoa [uta, inland]. Tract near Haakio, village on Vavau island (V).

**Valpua.** Seaweed water [val, water; pua, a seaweed]. Tract near Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V).

**Valpulu.** Water covered with coconut husks [val, water; pulu, the husk of the coconut]. Tract near Valpoa, village on Niuafoou island (NF)—Maatu, landlord. Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Tangipa, landlord. Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

**Valpuua.** The two spouting streams [val, stream; pu, to spout; ua, two]. A long arm of the sea extending far north into Vavau island (V) and dividing the island into an eastern and a western part.

**Valail.** Little water [val, water; ail, little]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

**Valalo.** Water of the slo shellfish [val, water; slo, a shellfish]. Tract near Taao, village on Vavau island (V).

**Valaloata.** Mirroring water [val, water; aloata, anything which reflects the image]. Well on Uoleva island (H). Beside the pigeon mound called Siakulufotu (or Siakulufotu).

**Valaisi.** Water of the si-leaf dress [val, water; isi, a dress for working in, made from the leaves of the si plant]. Tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.

**Valtafe.** Brook. Stream on weather shore of Tongatabu island (T).

COSMOGONY

773 Tongan cosmogony, unlike some other Polynesian cosmogonies, does  
171 not tell of a void in the beginning, but instead tacitly assumes the pre-  
existence of the sky, the sea, and the land of Pulu (the home of the  
souls of departed chiefs).

113 The Tongan creation myth has happily been published in both Tongan  
and French by Father Reiter.<sup>13</sup> In 1910 Josiah Martin<sup>14</sup> published a por-  
tion of the Tongan creation story in which the fishing up of the island  
of Tongatabu is related. Reverend E. E. V. Collocott<sup>15</sup> has published  
a free translation of the account of the origin of the gods and of the world.  
Creation myths have also been published in the Tongan language.<sup>16</sup>

128 In the present paper only the variants of these published accounts are  
recorded.

114 The account by Father Reiter and that by Collocott disagree as to the  
176 paternity of the Maui, the former naming the god Taufulifonua as the  
father, the latter the god Biki (Piki). The manuscript of J. P. Maatu  
agrees with Father Reiter's account in proclaiming Taufulifonua the father  
of the Maui. But Maatu's manuscript goes further and lists them as Maui  
Loa, Maui Puku, and Maui Atalanga. Collocott lists them as Maui-motua,  
Maui-buku, and Maui Atalanga.

114 Again Maatu's manuscript is specific where the published accounts are  
not. It states that the particular sort of *kiu* (snipe or plover), in which  
773 Tangaloa Atulungolongo became incarnate in his search for land, was the  
*tulione*. A second version in Maatu's manuscripts is not so specific. It  
114 does, however, state that the writers of the version were Kelekele and  
Tokemoana, who with Tongavalevale and the Tamaha Amelia were the  
writers of a similar account that I obtained from Jonathan Fonua of Neiafu,  
Vavau.

773 In the Tongan cosmogonical tales there is no hint of the creation of the  
sea, sky, sun, moon or stars. Their preëxistence is either stated or tacitly  
assumed.

539 The account of the origin of the gods in the old manuscript in the pos-  
session of Mr. John Panuve Maatu describes the origin of sexual intercourse  
by the twin deities Taufulifonua (male) and Havea Lolofonua (female):  
"And Piki and Kele made a new country which they named Tonga Mamao  
(Distant Tonga) and took their children Taufulifonua and Havea Lolofonua

<sup>13</sup> Reiter, P., *Traditions tonguennes*, *Anthropos*, vol. 2, pp. 230-236, 438-443; 743-750, 1907.

<sup>14</sup> Martin, Josiah, *Origin of the name of Tonga Island*: *Jour. Poly. Soc.*, vol. 19, pp. 163-164, 1910.

<sup>15</sup> Collocott, E. E. V., *A Tongan theogony*: *Folk-Lore*, vol. 30, pp. 234-238, 1919.

<sup>16</sup> (1) By Taufapulotu, *Koe tupuanga o mamani mo hono kakai*, *Koe Fafaga*, vol. 4, pp. 122-127, 1906; (2) By the Tamaha, Kelekele, Tokemoana, and Tongavalevale, the origin tale, published in *Koe Mahasini a Koliji*, vol. 4, pp. 22-26, 51-55, 74-78, 1881-1883; (3) *Koe talanoa ki Eua*, *Koe Mahasini a Koliji*, vol. 4, pp. 109-111, 1881-1883.



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[128] written by Father Reiter parallel with a translation by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker.

Pea nae osi a Ata hono ngaohi, koe motua fonua ia. Pea nae ikai tupu aki ae kongo oe uanga a Kohai mo Koau mo Momo; ka naa nau tupupe kinautolu ihe uanga, pea fakahako ai ae kakai o mamani.

Ka nae toki fekau e Tamapouliamafoa, koe tui ia oe langi; pea mo Tangaloa Eiki, pea mo Tangaloa Tufunga, aia oku tuki toki, koia oku hingoa ko Tangaloa Tufunga, mo Tangaloa Atulongolongo, o nau fekau moe kau Tangaloa ke o hifo a hono tui o Ata. Pea nau pehe ange ki he faahi-kehe, ko Laufakanaa, hono hingoa: "Hau, koe Laufakanaa; ke ke alu ki lalo, ki mama; ko ena ho fonua, ko Ata; ke ke pule ai mo ke faiteliha ihe mea kotoape oe fonua koia. Pea ke alu koe, Laufakanaa moe matangi; ke ke fakatupu ha matangi: Ka ai ha vaka e matangi kovia, pea hau kiate koe Laufakanaa, o humai kiate koe mo kole mai kiate koe, pea ke tuku ha matangi lelei ki he vaka koia, ke alu lelei ihe vaka, pea tau lelei ki ha fonua e alu kiai; kae oua naake tuku ha matangi kovi, pea mate ai ae vaka ihe tahi, ka he fakatupu ha matangi lelei."

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789  
776 Koia oku nofo ai ae tevolo ko Laufakanaa ihe motu ko Ata, koeuhi ka ai leva ha vaka e matangi kovipe, pea alu leva o hu mo kole kia Laufakanaa ke ne tuku mai ha matangi lelei kihe vaka koia, pea loloi i he vaka koia. Pea loloi i he vaka koia ae ma o loloiaki ae niu ko ave ma ae tevolo ke kai; ko enau feilaulau, koeuhi ke ofa a Laufakanaa ihe vaka koia; pea folau leva ia, kuo tuku e Laufakanaa ae matangi lelei ke nau folau ai.

539 Pea nae alo hifo a Laufakanaa mei langi mo hono kupenga o fai i Ata; koe kupenga ika koia oku toutai ika ae fonua koia. Oku nau fai ae aho ika oe Tui Tonga: Ka koe tupu i he kupenga nae o hifo e Laufakanaa.

And Ata (island) was finished making and that was the first land. And were not made from the pieces of the worm (the men) Kohai (Who) and Koau (It is I) and Momo (Crumb); but they arose from the worm and the people of the world were their descendants.

Then Tamapouliamafoa commanded, —he was king of the sky; and (he commanded) Tangaloa Eiki, and Tangaloa Tufunga, who is axe-maker, and (hence) is called Tangaloa Tufunga (carpenter), and Tangaloa Atulongolongo, and he told the Tangaloa to send down a ruler for Ata. And they said to a god, Laufakanaa was his name (*lau*, speak; *fakanaa*, to silence): "Come you Laufakanaa; go below to the earth; there is your land, Ata; it is for you to rule and you may please yourself about everything in that land. And you go, Laufakanaa, and make the wind; you will create the wind. If there is a vessel that has bad (or stormy) winds, and (the people) come to you, Laufakanaa, and sue and solicit you, then you must give fair winds to that vessel, for the vessel to go (sail) well, and to anchor safely at the land to which it is going; and you must not give a bad wind, for the vessel to die (or to be lost) at sea, but you must create a good wind."

That is the reason why the god Laufakanaa dwells at the island Ata, because should there be a vessel that has bad wind, and (the crew) go and sue and solicit help from Laufakanaa, it is for him to give a fair wind to that vessel. Then (the people) of that vessel (must) cook the native bread (*ma*) with the oil of the grated coconut and take it to the god to eat; that is their offering to Laufakanaa, for him to love their vessel; and the vessel sails, and Laufakanaa gives a fair wind with which to sail.

And Laufakanaa went down from the sky with his fishing net and used it at Ata; and that (sort of) fishing net is used by (the inhabitants of) that land to fish. And they use it on the fishing day of the Tui Tonga; and that sort of net originated from the fishing net that Laufakanaa brought down with him.



# STORIES OF FISH GODS

539 Three deities are concerned in this group of tales, namely Tui Tofua,  
776 Fakapatu, and Seketua, who reside, respectively, at Tofua and Moungaone  
islands in the Haapai group, and at Niuatoputapu island. Tui Tofua and  
Seketua are believed to be transformed men.

776 In one version of the tale concerning the contest with Fakapatu another  
793 fish god is mentioned, namely Taufatahi, who was rather an important  
[539] deity in the Tongan pantheon and one for whom, at least in Tongatabu, a  
priest and a sacred precinct were established. In 1921 a priest of this god  
was living at Mua, Tongatabu. His name was Kautai.

539 Six versions of the tale about the origin of the shark god Tui Tofua  
[124] were obtained and three of them are printed in this collection. The varia-  
[128] tions in the other three are as follows:

The tale as told by Samson Latu of Haafeva island, Haapai, transposes  
the names of the father and son in the story, making Tui Tofua the father  
and Vakafuhu the son. It is the latter who is transformed into a man-  
eating mud shark (*tenifa*). Vakafuhu's canoe became the rock known as  
Tolungamaka. After the offerings were made by relatives to Vakafuhu and his  
companions, small black volcanic pebbles, such as are used on Tongan  
graves today, appeared for the first time on the beach of Siuatama, Tofua  
island. They were used on the graves of the men who were transformed  
into sharks, for such were the instructions which Vakafuhu had trans-  
mitted through a Samoan companion who was not transformed.

Samuel Pele, of Faleloa, Foa island, Haapai group, adds to his version  
an account of the struggle between the fish god Tui Tofua and the fish  
god Seketua from Niuatoputapu, a deity of similar origin; Tui Tofua  
taking the form of the sokisoki, a spiny fish and entering his rival's  
stomach. In this version the little finger of the Samoan is severed and  
becomes a shark instead of a porpoise as in another version. The approach  
of Tui Tofua and his accompanying sharks is heralded by a discoloration  
of the sea. The tale relates that should a vessel sink near Tofua or Kotu  
island, no one will lose his life, because Tui Tofua, the protecting deity is  
near.

The version related by Paul Taufiaevalu, of Nukualofa, states that the  
hero, the son of the king of Tofua, had just returned from Samoa with his  
followers, where he had gone to be tattooed. In this version the son com-  
mits fornication with his father's concubines during his father's absence.  
Upon the latter's return, the son and all of his comrades are condemned to  
death. The condemned youths seek escape by jumping into the sea and  
becoming sharks. There were six of them in all. The young chief sent  
word to his father by a Samoan follower that he intended to become a

539 kiai, koe lahi o Tui Tofua. Pea nae fakataha ae kakai o Haapai o tofa ae hala sika ke fai ai enau faiva.

Pea fai enau sika i he aho e taha pea ai fakamuimui mai ae sika a Tui Tofua, pea nae hau ae sika o tuu i he ato oe fale o ene tamai (Vakafuhu); pea nae lele kiai ae kau sinifu a ene tamai o tautauafo ao ae sika. Pea nae loto kovi a ene tamai kia Tui Tofua o ne mahalo kuo ne fai ha mea kovi mo ene kau sinifu, pea nae oho atu kiai moe akau ke tamate hono foha. Pea nae fakaha mai e hono foha oku ne ataata, pea ikai tuku ae ita a Vakafuhu kiate ia. Pea koia nae fakaha mai e hono foha te ne folau mo ene kakai. Pea naa nau folau.

Pea hokoki he loto moana, pea fakaha age e Tui Tofua kihe ene kakai ke nau hopohopo taha ki tahi, pea nau fai, pea nau hoko kotoape koe fanga anga; pea toki hopo a Tui Tofua fakamuimui pea hoko ia koe fuu tenifa. Ka koe tangata Haamoa ko Faia nae ikai fie hopo ia, pea foki ia ki uta i he vaka o fakaha ae ngaahi mea kuo hoko. Pea talu mei ai moe otua aki e he kakai oe otu motu koia a Tui Tofua, pea nau tapu kai anga, he ko honau kainga kuo tupu fakaaanga. Oku pehe ae taanga motua kiai:

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Nofonofu Tui Tofua koe mama,  
Momo'i ki Olotele o malanga.  
Liu mei ai o tofa e hala  
O kotofa e sika katoanga  
O pa i Lekeleka o malata.

Pea pa pa enau sika;  
Fakamuimui Tui Tofua.  
To leva e sika ki lotoa,  
Feohofi e sinifu fonua;

Ita mai Langitaetae:  
"Ke li ki tuua e sika."

"Mo hoota pe mate i he ma  
Naa hau anai e tangata."  
Tok'a Vakafuhu he oku kona,  
Tuu hake moe tui koe ta,  
Koe loto kovi ki hono foha;  
"Tui koe kihe tala uhuaki,  
Kau alu naa ta feiloaki."

to Tofua, and assembled all the people of Tofua and the surrounding islands, because Tui Tofua was great. The people of Haapai assembled and made a road to play their game *sika* (a game played with sticks).

One day they were playing *sika* and Tui Tofua's turn came last, and his *sika* stick flew and stood on the roof of his father's house; and the wives of his father ran to it and scrambled for it. This made Tui Tofua's father angry, and suspicious that his wives had been doing wrong. So he rushed with a club to kill his son. His son told him that he was quite innocent, but Vakafuhu was not appeased. His son then told him that he and his people would sail away. And Tui Tofua and his people did sail away.

When they reached mid-ocean, Tui Tofua told his followers to jump one by one into the sea, which they did, and they all turned into sharks. Tui Tofua jumped last and turned into a great man-eating shark. But the Samoan called Faia did not want to jump, and so he returned on the vessel to shore and told all that had happened. Since then in these islands Tui Tofua has been worshipped as a god, and the shark is sacred and not to be eaten, because their people were transformed into sharks. The following is an old song (*taanga*) about it:

Dwelt Tui Tofua on earth,  
Sent to Olotele [as] an ambassador.  
Returned from there and made a road  
And arranged a *sika* entertainment  
And shot at Lekeleka and ricocheted.

And shot and shot their *sika* sticks;  
Came last the turn of Tui Tofua.  
Fell the *sika* stick into the enclosure  
Scrambled his (father's) concubines  
for it;

Angry was his mother Langitaetae:  
"Throw the *sika* stick over the fence."

"I will die of shame  
Lest come a man presently."  
Vakafuhu asleep because drunk,  
Rose up with club to strike,  
Suspicious-minded toward his son;  
"Believe you the early morning teller,  
Then I will go lest we have a quarrel."

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## STORIES OF HINA AND SINILAU

Hina and Sinilau, two widely known Polynesian deities, enter extensively into Tongan tales. Sinilau is invariably represented as a handsome man or a noted chief. 776  
539  
[171]

Hina appears in a variety of roles, but always as a beautiful girl. She is considered as the moon-goddess in Tonga and takes the place of our "man in the moon." The Tongans see in the moon a great *orara* tree beneath which sits Hina beating tapa. As a beautiful Samoan girl Hina was instrumental in sending the bonito to Tonga. In one Maui tale Hina is called the sister of Maui Kisikisi. In another tale, a goddess named Hinahengi comes from Pulu to this world where she is captured by a Samoan and becomes his wife. (See p. 19 and p. 49.) [821]

HINA AND THE ORIGIN OF THE COCONUT <sup>117</sup>

539

Kaloafu mo Teuhie,  
Laufoke koena tama pele,  
Pea ta koe faahikehe.  
Hoko vale ihona manavahe.  
Tupaheo!

Kaloafu and Teuhie,  
It is said, had a pet child,  
But it was a god.  
Fled they madly because of their fear.  
Beat quickly!

Ona hopo he moana vavale.  
Koe tuna ne hola ki Haamoa  
O nofo he Vaiola o Hina;  
Nofonofa Hina pea feitama.  
"Hina e! ke tafa hao tangata  
Kohai?" "Ko Tuna Olemalama."  
Hiki mai a Haamoa o tata,  
Pea nau ohuohu pea maka;  
Pea hiki hake a tuna o tafa,  
Tafa pe mo kai a loimata.  
"Hiki mai e ulu maaku naa,  
Pea tanutanu he tanuanga."  
Po nima pea malangalanga:  
Mua hifo e toume moe kaka;  
Koe mea hulu ena keina;  
Pea moe niu pulu maamaa  
Koe mea fai lolo ena tama;  
Ta hono sino koe fale fakahoata.

They fled into the foaming sea.  
The eel went to Samoa  
And lived in Hina's water of life;  
Bye-and-bye Hina became pregnant.  
"O Hina! tell who is your man?"  
"It is Eel the Shining One."  
Came all Samoa and cleaned,  
And bailed the pool till it was empty;  
Lifted out the eel and cut to pieces,  
Cut up and ate while (Hina) wept.  
"Bring here the head for me,  
Then bury it in the burying place."  
Nights five passed and then it appeared:  
First came leaf pod and fiber;  
It was wonderful the way it grew;  
And the coconuts with light husks  
Were heavy with oil for their child.  
Cut down its body for a sun shelter.

The following prose account will make clearer the events mentioned in the preceding verse:

The eel originated through two people, Tufu, the name of a fish, and Kale, meaning to run past. Their offspring was a large eel. Then came Kaloafu, a chiefess, and Teuhie, a chief, to adopt the child. They were informed that it was a god, but they insisted on seeing it. They

<sup>117</sup> Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker from the Tongan of a tale recorded by the Rev. Dr. J. E. Moulton.

## MAUI IN EUA

539 Gifford (22, p. 21) has told some of the exploits of the Maui as related  
 823 by the Tongans, and has referred to publications in which other of these  
 important traditions may be found. Tregear (34) has given an admirable  
 summary of the Maui legends throughout Polynesia. Within Tonga, Vavau  
 and Eua are most closely associated with the Maui. On Koloa, an island of  
 Vavau, is said to have been a temple and priest of Maui. On Eua are at  
 [109] least three topographical memorials of the hero or demi-god. Umu si a Maui  
 (Maui's si oven)<sup>1</sup> is the name of each of two prominent little peaks in  
 different parts of the uplands of Eua. The origin of both peaks is ascribed  
 to Maui's having made an oven there. (There is always a heap of earth,  
 ashes, and stones on the site of an earth oven.) Smaller knolls round  
 about are said to be dirt that Maui threw out in digging his oven.

A still more impressive memorial of Maui is a great steep-sided depres-  
 sion near the weather shore of the island, opening out to sea through a  
 splendid rocky archway, into which surge and foam the ocean breakers.  
 This fine piece of coastal scenery is said to owe its being to an angry  
 gesture of Maui Kisikisi. Maui's mother remonstrated with him for being  
 lazy, and doing no gardening; whereupon he seized a digging-stick and set  
 to work so vigorously that he shook the whole island. The mother again  
 remonstrated, and Maui, exclaiming in angry disgust, "Will nothing please  
 you? Want to be barren, want to have children," hurled the digging-stick  
 far from him. The stick, falling where the depression referred to now is,  
 shot out through the solid rock of the cliff into the sea, leaving hollow an  
 archway as impressive monuments of Maui's strength. (See 13, p. 211.)

## HINA IN EUA

109 Takinanga-o-Hina is a pleasant open grassy space at the top of the cliffs,  
 where it is said that Hina used to spread out to dry (*tataki*) her bark cloth.  
 This is typical of a large class of names. Many localities are known as  
 the *fala* (mat) of such and such a chief or legendary personage. These  
*fala* seem invariably to be level grass or sand.

716 Hina is the constantly recurring heroine of Polynesian story, sister of  
 [538] the Maui, bride of Sinilau, associated with the moon and shark (p. 20). I  
 [823] have heard no reason for the association of Hina's name with this locality,  
 but the fact that Eua was regarded as one of the residences of Maui might  
 associate Hina with the island. Hinatua fuaga, sister-wife of Tokilanga-  
 fonua, King of Eua, both of whom came from heaven to Eua, is connected  
 with the shark-god (15, p. 376). Krämer (26, pp. 11, 12) describes  
 [823] Nafanua as the daughter of Hinatua fuanga. Takinanga-o-Hina, with its

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9

open outlook upon the sea, may have suggested association with the rising moon. 776  
823

## OTHER STORIES OF EUA

Kaufana was adopted by his contemporary, the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho, 539 who was murdered in the year 1799. (See 28, vol. 1, p. 81.) Kaufana successfully resisted the blind old king Talimalolo, who was chief of the fortress Tutaki, and notoriously cruel. Talimalolo constantly ordered people to be put to death, especially those who showed energy and initiative. Kaufana, therefore, who belonged to the chief's family, removed with some of the people and founded the fortress Hehu. One day Manumua (so named because he was born at the time of night when the bird *manumua* commences to sing) came from Talimalolo's fortress on a friendly visit to Kaufana, who detained him, and would not let him return. War resulted between Kaufana and Talimalolo, and the blind old despot was defeated. By this victory Kaufana made himself master of a large part of Eua. Although he saved Eua from the cruelty of Talimalolo, Kaufana himself was harsh and tyrannical. One of his methods of torturing prisoners was to cause his attendants to urinate on their wounds. Besides military prowess and valor, Kaufana had some measure of the constructive ability that seeks to increase the amenities of life. He supplied his dwelling with water by means of a race from the stream Vaiangana. 551

On the weather side of Eua were Fangata and Halafata, two villages or fortresses, now deserted. Fangata was the fortress of the noted warrior, Kaufana; and Halafata was situated just below. During a war between the two villages, the men of Halafata used to insult Fangata by stooping down and presenting their posteriors to the rival fortress. One day, as a Halafata man was making this offensive gesture, a Fangata marksman avenged the insult by shooting an arrow which penetrated the victim's anus and stuck out of his mouth.

Lakufaanga (Place of throwing hala) is immediately at the top of a great cliff falling sheer into deep sea. Here once lived Tuakauia and his family. They ate fruit of the hala and threw the inedible hard cores into the sea. The turtles in the sea at this place now are Tuakauia and his family, and if hala fruit is thrown over the cliff, with appropriate invocation, the turtles come to the surface and eat it. The invocation is a couplet: 539  
823  
539  
825

Tuakauia and family  
Receive the gifts that are sent.

It is a matter of observation, however, that the turtles are not always responsive.

829 Ungako, is a circular, rock-lined hole, inland in Eua, about 30 feet  
 539 deep and 10 feet in diameter. A lip of stone projects above the level of  
 the surrounding ground, being higher on one side than on the other. It  
 is in fact a large limestone pipe, in general appearance not unlike the  
 829 shell of a huge *ungako* (one of the shellfish found in Tonga). This hole  
 716 was the abode of a maleficent spirit, who had a priest in the neighborhood.  
 539 The spirit probably was the *ungako* himself whose shell this was sup-  
 posed to be.

Faitemolau (a woman sitting and talking) is the name of a rock. The  
 829 sitting posture of the Tonga women is called *faite*. The story is  
 539 that a priest named Topono, whose house site—a rock-faced single  
 terrace—is still to be seen, was annoyed by the upbraiding of his wife.  
 She was sitting one day near, or on, a rock, complaining to him, till he in  
 exasperation shot at her, missing her but hitting the rock, in which he  
 made a hollow.

539 Prominent trees are named from stories. In Eua is a toa tree (*Casuarina*)  
 552 called Hiva A Kofe, which seems to mean either "singing of Kofe" (a  
 proper name), or "singing of bamboo." Another toa tree is called Fakama-  
 malu o Katea (Shade of Katea) beneath whose shelter a woman named  
 Katea, overtaken by labor among the hills, gave birth to her child. A look-  
 out tree (*niu vakai*) on the uplands of Eua is called Fotu-a-Fae (Fae  
 appearing).

#### STORIES OF TONGATABU

539 Umutangata (Meal of man) is a locality in western Tongatabu, near a  
 branch in the road, one branch going on to the village of western (*hihifo*)  
 829 Tongatabu, and the other apparently to the village of Fahefa, on the  
 [103] northern, or weather, shore of the island. It is said that the Tui Tonga  
 and his entourage were on their way from eastern (*hahake*) Tongatabu  
 to the western district of the island, and, as they journeyed, came to the  
 pool named Touia, between the villages of Foui and Masilamea, and turned  
 aside to bathe. Near the pool was the garden of a warrior named Hauuta,  
 who behaved offensively to the chiefly party. He was dressed only in a  
 plantain leaf, and he kept turning himself so as always to present his  
 posteriors to the chiefs. Moreover, when they sent to ask him the name  
 of the pool, which was in reality named Vaileua,<sup>1</sup> he falsely replied that  
 it was called Haulefe,<sup>2</sup> which the Tui Tonga regarded as an insult. So the  
 party did not continue its journey to Hihifo, but turned off and went to  
 Fahefa. Hauuta determined to follow, and further insult them. So he  
 evacuated his bowels in the road, wrapped up the excrement, and took it,  
 and smeared the place that was prepared for the travellers to sleep on.



## ULUVALU

539 There was once an eight-headed demon (*nifoloo*), named Uluvalu, who  
 773 stole a girl and took her down to Pulotu. But a youth who loved her  
 775 plucked up the reed that closed the road to Pulotu, and went down and  
 [824] found his sweetheart. They arranged that the girl should caress the  
 demon's heads, and so soothe him off to sleep, and that when he was  
 asleep she should steal off with her lover. This was done, and the pair  
 returned safely to the world of men.

776 The *nifoloo* (long-tooth) are a class of supernatural beings, appearing  
 usually in human shape, generally maleficent, indeed cannibalistic. The  
 776 adjective *faka-nifoloo*, is used of that which is bizarre, outrageous. It is  
 192 impossible to make a hard and fast distinction between *nifoloo*, *faahikehe*,  
*tevolo*, and *otua*, though *otua* has appreciated in dignity through its  
 application to the Christian Deity. Tregear (34, *nihoo*) mentions Ruahine-  
 nihoniho-roroa, the Tahitian goddess of strife, cruelty, and murder.

## A TRIP TO PULOTU

539 Gifford has published the well-known story (22, pp. 169-70), of which  
 773 the following is a brief version, added because of the new detail of the  
 role played by Fakafoimaka.

775 Haelefeke, Fakafoimaka (or Fakafoimaka), and Faifaimalie journeyed  
 [114] to Pulotu to Hikuleo, who, on their arrival, bade the denizens of Pulotu pre-  
 pare food for the visitors. When the food was set before them, Hikuleo told  
 his guests that they must eat it all, otherwise their lives would be for-  
 feited. Haelefeke and Fakafoimaka wept, conceiving it to be impossible  
 to consume so much food, but Faifaimalie said to leave it to her, and  
 setting to work she ate not only the food, but the rod on which it had been  
 carried, the basket, and the leaves with which it was covered. Nothing  
 was left, and Hikuleo was told that it was finished.

"Uoke, Uoke," (strange) he said.

Then he bade them gather the fruit from a *vi* tree (*Spondias dulcis*),  
 so laden with fruit that not a single leaf could be seen. He said that all  
 must be collected; if one were left they should die. Then Fakafoimaka  
 and Faifaimalie wept, but Haelefeke said to leave it to him. So he lay  
 spread out beneath the branches, and, when the gods shook the tree, he  
 caught all the fruit in his tentacles, not one escaped him. When Hikuleo  
 and the spirits (*kau nifoloo*) saw this they bade the three return to the  
 world, but they made the road rough with sharp spikes, like the thorns of  
 the shaddock. Now Haelefeke and Faifaimalie wept, but Fakafoimaka  
 said to leave this difficulty to him. Then he rolled about on the sharp  
 spikes, and smoothed the road, so that they ascended safely to this world.

wives, and as he was going to the sea one of them called to him to go and take her oil and comb to prepare himself for the sea. Before Tongamauluau's arrival the other wives had been accustomed to take oil and other necessities for Kulakehahau when he went to bathe, but this was the first time since she had come that he had gone to the sea alone. Then he went bonito fishing, and when he returned this same woman called him to her, and told him that Tongamauluau was a spirit-woman (*tevolo*) for her beauty was not that of a woman of this world. So Kulakehahau dwelt with her, and went no more to Tongamauluau. 539

So Tongamauluau lived alone, and in time brought forth her child, a son whom she named Fakakanalangi. Time went on, and the child grew big, and Tongamauluau, wearied with waiting, said to him that they should go away together. So she took a piece of bark cloth,<sup>3</sup> and wrapped it round herself,<sup>4</sup> and they set out to return to her parents in the sky. But the wife who had enticed Kulakehahau away saw them going, and said to Kulakehahau, "Kulakehahau, rise up; there is Tongamauluau going away. Run and pursue her." And he ran after her, and called,

E Tonga-maulu'au tu'u pe,  
Tonu ena kuo ta mavae,  
He kuo ke 'alu huluhulu pe,  
Kae liaki ho'o kiekie.

Ah stay, Tongamauluau,  
That garb is a presage of parting,  
As you go wrapped round in bark-cloth,  
And thy girdle hast cast away.

But she went on, she stayed not, and again he called,

E Tonga-maulu'au tu'u mai,  
Tuku mai 'a Fakakana-langi.

Tongamauluau, stop,  
Leave Fakakanalangi.

So she left Fakakanalangi, but went on herself. Then the child called to his mother to stop, that Kulakehahau bade her stay that they might return together to his home. So she turned back, and they went home together. Then Kulakehahau knew that he had been deceived by the other woman, and he gave orders to slay those other wives.

#### TUIOLEMANA AND THE CRAB

There was once a crab (*paka*) that dwelt in a pool called Nukuseilala<sup>1</sup> (Place of *heilala*, a sweet-smelling plant, *Calophyllum inophyllum*?), where a man named Tuiolemana (Chief of the handsome men) used to come and bathe. He used to wash himself with a coconut husk, and when he had finished bathing he would leave the husk in the recesses of the cave where the pool was, and go away. Then the crab used to emerge from the pool and suck<sup>2</sup> the husk, till at length she became pregnant, and bore a very beautiful girl, named Tuioana (Queen of the cave).

Time went on, and one day Tuioana's mother told her that a beautiful girl was to be selected to be the bride of Tuiolemana. So the maiden went

## SEKETOA

825 Gifford (22, pp. 83, 84) has related how Seketoa, son of the lord of  
 776 Niua Toputapu, leapt into the sea, and became a fish god. His promise  
 before he died was that he would be a helpful friend to the people of  
 Niua Toputapu. Some time after his disappearance a large shark (*tenifa*)  
 appeared off the shore of the island, with a white mark in its side. This  
 was Seketoa. He appears of different sizes and colors, but is always  
 known by the white mark, the scar of a wound he received in battle while  
 yet in human shape. Seketoa is said to have frequently guided ships to  
 their anchorage.

Maatu, who died about the year 1923, said that Seketoa was angry  
 with him, because he had once been about to shoot at him. Maatu in-  
 tended to sail to Tafahi, a high island near Niua Toputapu, on a certain  
 day, and was asked by one of the native clergymen if he might go with  
 him. Maatu consented, and early in the morning went to the beach to  
 board his boat, but was very annoyed to find that his wife, whom he had  
 previously told to stay at home, was already on board. They set off, Maatu  
 sitting silent and ill-humored. Presently the pastor commenced to talk  
 about Seketoa, and asked Maatu if the tales he had heard about him were  
 true. Maatu responded curtly that they were. Then the pastor suggested  
 that Maatu call Seketoa for them to see. "Don't know if he'll come," re-  
 plied the chief. But the cleric asked him to try, so Maatu called, "Seketoa,  
 if you're there come for the minister to see."

"Sometimes he's a little fish?" queried the pastor.

"Yes," responded the chief, "sometimes so."

Scarcely had he said this when the minister exclaimed, "*Oiaue*, there  
 are the little fish." Near the boat were fish about two feet long, of varie-  
 gated coloring, one of which came closer, revealing the telltale white mark  
 on its side. "There's the chap you wanted to see," remarked Maatu.

"I heard he was a big thing," said the pastor. Then the fish disappeared,  
 and a big fish, about eight or ten feet long, with the same coloring, and  
 showing the white mark, appeared. The fish went on ahead, and presently  
 turned and came back, this time much larger, but still with the mark and  
 the same colors.

"Ah," said the pastor, "that's a chief (lord, god, spirit, '*eiki*')." They  
 ceased rowing, and stood up to look at the fish. He went off, and came  
 back still longer, as long this time as the boat. Again he went off, and re-  
 turned larger, coming near the stern of the boat, abreast of the pastor.  
 The boat was almost water-logged. Apparently the sea was coming over  
 through the commotion made by the big fish, and nobody was baling, for  
 all were intent on the fish.

"Maatu," called the minister.

"What," replied Maatu. The boat was rolling with the movements of the fish. 825  
776

"I have been a minister for over thirty years," he said, "as a young man in Vavau I was very bad. I used to steal, and I have struck people in the dark, and I have done still worse things. I have wanted to see a *tevolo*. I became a minister, and God has prolonged my life to see truly the truth of a spirit. Thanks be to the kindness of the Lord; I have always said it was a lie about spirits. Is there anything the lord is angry about?", for the boat was rolling violently.

In the boat was a man with his head bound with a turban, and the minister ordered him to take the turban off. He obeyed, and fell into the sea in his consternation. Maatu seized a gun that was in the boat, and called to a man to get cartridges from a bag. Then Seketoo sprang up, nearly overturning the boat, and made off, springing high out of the sea as he went. They went on to Tafahi, and returned to Niua Toputapu without further incident. All this occurred in January, 1897.

In April of the same year Captain Ross, who traded so long from New Zealand to the Tongan Islands, and Niua Fooou and Niua Toputapu, reached Niua Toputapu, having previously touched at Niua Fooou. Captain Ross told Maatu that he had done wrong, that a large shoal of the fish called *otule*, which had previously been very rare in Niua Fooou, but a regular visitor to Niua Toputapu, had been chased to Niua Fooou by Seketoo. Maatu later got further details from a native pastor who was sailing on board Captain Ross's ship from Niua Fooou to Tongatabu. The *otule* had been plentiful in Niua Fooou from the preceding January up to that time. Fusitua, one of the leading chiefs of Niua Fooou, in January had a dream in which a man appeared to him, and told him to go to Futu (Niua Fooou), and get *otule*, which he had brought because he was angry with Maatu for preparing to shoot him, adding to tell Maatu when he saw him. In his dream Fusitua saw the *otule* and the opening in the reef through which they came. So he woke, and was unable to sleep again.

In the morning he called a man named Fisi, and told him that they were going to eat fish. Fisi laughed, but Fusitua told him the place where the fish would appear, and bade him go and see if the dream were true. Fisi was hard to persuade, but at last he went, and saw a great shoal of *otule*, shepherded into a narrow channel by two sharks (*tenifa*). Fisi returned to Fusitua, and told him what he had seen. Then they went with a number of people and saw the *otule*. Since then the *otule* has been seen very infrequently at Niua Toputapu, and never in large shoals, but only one or two at a time; while it has been frequently seen in Niua Fooou, but only in the one place, Futu. When the *otule* comes to Niua Fooou it is always preceded by two large sharks (*tenifa*).

825 Maatu asserted that he always saw Seketoa when he went to sea, even  
 796 in parts of the group far distant from Niua Toputapu. Once he was sailing  
 between Niua Toputapu and Vavau. The sea was very rough, and he saw  
 Seketoa swimming about on the surface in the form of a big sea-eel (*tuku-*  
*hali*). Presently the eel sprang aboard close to Maatu. The men on the  
 boat wanted to kill it, but Maatu prevented them, and picking up the eel,  
 he threw it back into the sea, telling it not to come aboard again. In 1896  
 Maatu left Nukualofa for Eua. They stopped for the night at Eueiki, and  
 in the morning found the sea very rough and the wind ahead. Against the  
 wishes of the crew they sailed. The distance is not great between Eueiki  
 and Eua, but by midday they were only halfway. As they sailed a great  
 shark came alongside the boat, and Maatu remarked that it was the god  
 from Niua Toputapu. Presently he saw the white mark in its side. The  
 shark did not stay in the one position, but appeared here and there, and then  
 was lost to view. When they reached Eua, Maatu was going ashore in the  
 dinghy when a great fish appeared, and the man who was rowing became  
 alarmed, and wanted to return to the larger boat; but Maatu made him go  
 on. The passage back to the boat from the shore was also full of terrors  
 for the rower, for the fish was lying off close to the opening of the reef.

## HOW THE VETE WAS TAKEN TO HIHIFO

539 Latukefu of Hihifo went to Hahake to visit the sister of the chief  
 825 Tamale. When the visit was ended, and Latukefu was about to return  
 home, Tamale's sister, desiring to make a gift to the departing guest, asked  
 [796] her brother what she could give him. Tamale thereupon sent word to his  
 god Haitau<sup>1</sup>, who appeared in the sea eel (*toka*) to take off his girdle of  
 the fish called *vete*, and send it along for Latukefu. Tamale instructed  
 Latukefu to go straight home, and not turn aside; but Latukefu disregarded  
 this advice, and turned aside to various places, including the islet of Malinoa,  
 and at all the beaches which he thus visited the *vete* is found.

Latukefu has the same lucky days for fishing as Tamale, namely *faka-*  
*tolu* (or perhaps *fakafa* or *fakanima*), *punifanga*, and *matofi*, which would  
 be a night or two after the new moon, and shortly before, and shortly after,  
 the full moon (16, p. 170; 13, p. 213). Tamale must not go down to the  
 beach when the *vete* come. Latukefu is not bound by this restriction.

## THE BIRDS AND THE PLANTAINS

539 There were once two brothers, named Wise Malala and Foolish Malala,  
 825 and they went one day and planted a plantain. On the following day Wise  
 262 Malala sent his brother to see how their plantain fared, and he found that  
 one leaf had sprouted. And so every day Foolish Malala was sent to look  
 at the plantain. Every day for the next nine days he found that one more

539 For 'tis a land of women's talk.  
 644 Ah indeed, I am grieved in secret;  
 Take thought what we shall do,  
 276 We are weary of fear,  
 Rejoicing in the king we have got;  
 687 I am but punished.  
 Pluck down Alotolu,"  
 And Toloa and Humu.  
 Awake wind from Tufuhu,"  
 Breathe gently all winds,  
 Sing wind of the north,  
 The south wind, and wind below Kalau,"  
 And gleam the town that thunders for  
 war,"  
 The sea moans on Teuhie and Kaloafu."  
 The Kailakulaku has put out"

That they may shatter regiments,  
 That without rival he be king,  
 And that we live under his justice."  
 Io ahi o, but he is good,"  
 A chief of exceeding kindness;  
 His dear beauty and brightness"  
 In the cave, the hollow in Tukitou.  
 False reliance is voyaging (with him),  
 And the correctness of a maimed hand."  
 Let none speak to me,  
 Forbidden the murmur, taken to Toku."  
 My love to the King.  
 Let be, farewell Tongatabu.  
 A-ke, voyaging [together] will be broken  
 down."

# RHYMES FOR GAMES

## Hiko

524 A favorite game of the Tongan girls (*hiko*), consists in juggling oranges.  
 The girls become remarkably expert, and it is no uncommon thing to see  
 five or six oranges kept in the air. The players sit in a little ring, and  
 [538] as one breaks down she passes the oranges, on to her neighbor. The games  
 are scored by means of these rhymes, and doubtless others, which are almost  
 as unintelligible to the Tongan as the *eeny, deeny, diny, do* of English chil-  
 [539] dren is to them. Interesting words, however, are preserved, for example,  
 Savaiki in the eighth line of the first rhyme.

524 The game *hiko* was under the special patronage of the god Fehuluni, of  
 whose origin Gifford gives an account (22, pp. 153-155). It was tapu to  
 776 play *hiko* at night. If the tapu were disregarded Fehuluni would be angry,  
 [784] and come and take the offender's eyes, and play *hiko* with them. Fehuluni  
 is said to have visited mortal men and women, in the guise of a beautiful  
 776 woman or of a handsome man. Men who embraced Fehuluni in female  
 787 shape became sick, and some died; while women who became pregnant to  
 the male Fehuluni were unable to bring forth. Sometimes, but not always,  
 [755] remedies were of avail, inducing a bleeding which was followed by restored  
 health. Fehuluni is said also to have appeared with the face veiled by the  
 top of the head, which seems inconsistent with the beauty attributed to him,  
 539 though it is admitted that his appearance was not always beautiful. Each  
 524 of these rhymes marks an *ulu* (game). To go right through the piece  
 marks one *ulu*. The players agree beforehand how many *ulu* there are to  
 be in the match. If, as between two players, one breaks down at some point  
 within the *ulu*, and then her opponent also breaks down; the first player is  
 allowed to continue at the point at which she erred, and if she completes  
 the *ulu* her opponent must start at the beginning, and is beaten unless she  
 goes right through at this second attempt.



## NOTES

## Page 8. Maui in Eua

1. The *si* is apparently the well-known *Cordyline terminalis*; the leaves used in making girdles, the root for sweetening food. Pratt (30) says that in Samoa the root was used as food in times of scarcity. Doubtless the Tongans also ate it when other food was not plentiful.

## Pages 10-11. Stories of Tongatabu

1. Vaileua, called also Touia. Possibly one name is that of the ground in which the pool was situated, and the other that of the pool itself.

2. No other occurrence of the word *haulefe* is known to me.

3. A party which includes one chief or a number of chiefs is referred to collectively as *houeiki* (chiefs), and chiefly language is used with reference to them.

## Page 11. The well Veemumuni

1. The term *vai* (water), here translated "well" is applied to lake, spring, pool of fresh water, the sea, and river, frequently without distinction, but descriptive words are sometimes added, for example, *vai-tafe*, flowing water (river); *vai-tapu*, springing water (spring).

## Page 12. Road to Pulotu

1. Smith (33, pp. 35, 36) thinks that in this duality of position of the Spirit-world, which is common throughout Polynesia, there is a confusion of two meanings of *rare*, *lalo* (*ae*), down and west.

## Page 16. Tuipulotu's house in Pulotu

1. Tuipulotu is a frequently occurring proper name, both of men and women. Mariner mentions Tuipulotu as a minor god of the sea and voyages, and protector of Finau's family (28, vol. 2, p. 107).

2. Accounts of Samoan marriage ceremony are given by Kramer (26, vol. 1, p. 38); by Brown (6, p. 21); and by Collocott (11).

## Pages 17-20. Lolongovavau, daughter of Hina and Sinilau

1. It is not necessary to assume that every occurrence of the names Hina and Sinilau concerns Hina, connected with moon and sea, and Sinilau or Tinirau, son of the sun, connected with sea and fishes. I have heard the Tongan opinion expressed that there is a tendency for stories of handsome men and their beautiful wives to attach themselves to the names of Sinilau and Hina. In this tale, however, there are many features of Hina stories.

2. The mother's side of the house is subordinate to the father's, and from that side is most likely to come such a guardian as Ofamaikiatama.

3. There are frequent mentions of speaking *puko* tree, or a speaking tree, but this identification of two trees, as indicated by the two expressions, is rare.

4. The expression *Alu hake ki mama* means "went up to light." The word *mama* (light) is a usual one for the world of human beings, and for human beings themselves; Mamani, which apparently means this light, is practically a proper name of this world.

5. Persons greeting one another commonly refer to what the other is doing; that is, Ofamaikiatama says "Malo e maimoa" (Malo the game), and Lolomatokelau replies, "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, malo the journey). The word *malo*, sometimes rather colorless, expresses thanks, approval, appreciation. A very common form of greeting of people meeting on the road is the simple question "Were you in such a place?"

6. See p. 12 for reference to roads to Pulotu. Gifford gives Niuaunofu as the northwestern point of Tongatabu. This is a few miles north from the road to Pulotu on the weather coast near the village of Foui.

539 *Dracoma* (possibly the leaf and streamer girdle, *siu*), or whether it is *siu* (as written), the common, usually untranslatable, word of affection.

3. Fetoa and Toloke are evidently localities represented by the suitors.

[103] 4. The champion of Veifefe is Vaenuku, from Eua. Veifefe is the name of a tiny stream in Eua. The word is also written Veefefe.

Page 51. The transformation of Vaenuku's brother

[538] 1. This is the usual ceremonious and apologetic way of commencing speech; *utu* (shore) means the dwellers in the land; *hau*, the comers to the festival at which the poem is recited.

Page 52. Auka and Talataiva

[538] 1. There is a well-known proverb, *Ko ho'o foui ne fai*, "Your *foui* did it," equivalent to "It is your own fault."

[307] 2. This needless betrayal of an illicit amour seems strange, but with it may be compared the painting of brides with turmeric during the marriage ceremony. I have heard, though without much confirmation, that husbands sometimes safeguarded the fidelity of their wives during their absence by painting their bellies with turmeric. Obliteration of the design was evidence of unfaithfulness. Is there, behind all this, a blood ritual connected with sexual intercourse?

[837] 3. There is a well-known proverb, *tuonaki Auka* (relying on Auka) which indicates misplaced confidence (17, no. 552).

[825] Page 58. How the vete was taken to Hihifo

[776] 1. Haitau is called also Mufutaetau (8, p. 228).

Page 59. Flea and nit go fishing

539 The *matalekele* is said to be a very strange-looking fish. For Samoa, Krämer gives *matalele* as *filoa* before it is fully grown (26, vol. 2, pp. 417, 419). There are indications that the *matalekele* was once worshipped, a very intelligent informant saying that he heard a man say that sacrifices were taken to it.

[103] 2. Haapepe and Haatafu are names of localities in Tonga. The not infrequent occurrence in names of *pepe* (butterfly) suggests that there may have been once a butterfly clan.

[551] Pages 59-61. The club-footed children

539 1. In the course of the story three words used of supernatural beings are used of the demon: *nifoloo*, *foahikehe*, and *tevolo*.

[192] 2. It would seem that the success of an incantation, or invocation, was achieved by preceding it by the word *tuputupu-le-fanua*. The form of the word is Samoan rather than Tongan, but it apparently is not known in Samoa, as it is not in Pratt's Dictionary. Tregear (34) defines *Tuputupuwhenua* as "a celebrated divine or semi-divine personage mentioned in Polynesian traditions. He is also called *Tumutumuwhenua*." Thus the incantation may have been originally an appeal to the being mentioned by Tregear.

[192] 3. The rock wall can hardly be an original feature in a Tongan story. This feature may be borrowed, or introduced lately, or the story itself may be a borrowed one into which some Tongan ideas are introduced. The mother's shame at the deformity of her children is characteristic. Tongans are more sensitive to physical blemishes than are Europeans.

[192] Page 61. Tafakula and the origin of the papaya

[776] 1. The sandalwood (*ahi*) of a ruddy brown color, is said to be especially associated with this goddess (8, p. 237).

[824] Page 61. The Samoan and the Tongan exchange gifts

[196] 1. The depreciatory effect of the reduplication of *niv* (nut) can perhaps be best rendered by the use of "near" in the sense in which it has become familiar as applied to beer. I heard this story told by Professor A. R. Brown, now of Sydney University.

[115]

- 599 19. Kanakana is a pool in Teekiū, western Tongatabu, where dwelt the god  
 [825] Tutula, or Haelefeke, who appeared in the octopus (*feke*). Besides the advice to  
 [776] Falepapalangi to go and find a pool and the trees as subjects of his verse, there seems  
 [825] to be the idea also of finding a god to be the patron of his muse.
20. For *ai* (almond tree), *vai* (water, pool) may be read as a variant, and instead  
 of *ua* (two), *ua* (there). Without knowing just what is referred to there is no way  
 of choosing definitely between the various possible readings. The man may be repre-  
 sented as speaking to someone in Hihifo "who knows," and asking "Where is that  
 almond tree, or pool that you people talk about?" or as asking "Where is the double  
 almond tree, or double pool?" Two pools, or two trees, close together, would make a  
 sufficiently conspicuous land-mark to be noted, and *ua* is probably the correct reading.

## Pages 67-69. A poem of Falepapalangi

- 599 1. A chief sometimes gives his kava to someone of lower rank than himself,  
 276 usually as a reward for services rendered. This bestows on the man to whom the  
 574 kava is given the right to clap and have the cup brought to him when the chief's name  
 565 is called. This privilege is transmitted from generation to generation. The hypothetical  
 465 charge which Falepapalangi is considering is that of having brought to him in the kava  
 [428] ring a cup which has not been so given to him, a much more serious usurpation than  
 599 merely draining off a cup of someone's else drink.
2. Falepapalangi seems to claim having borne off the prize, probably against  
 [428] Mamaeapoto on some specific occasion when the King was present. There is a possi-  
 bility, however, that he refers to his poetical skill as a heaven-sent gift of the gods;  
 599 Tangaloa is the lord of the heavens. It is in keeping with the spirit of Tongan poetry  
 [776] to consider all the possible meanings and allusions as more or less involved.
3. Kāfoa and Talau are hills in Vavau. That the hills had fallen means that  
 Vavau, in the person of Mamaeapoto, had been defeated in poetical contest, and, as a  
 Tongatabu man, Falepapalangi turns the tables on Mamaeapoto's assertion that the  
 Tongatabu poet has neglected the beauties of his own land to abuse the poet of Vavau.  
 Falepapalangi contends that he, the Tongatabu poet, has not been unmindful of the  
 claims of Vavau to commemoration; that his rival has mentioned to him places in  
 Tongatabu that might be visited for poetical inspiration, and in his retort infers that  
 he knows and is quite willing to celebrate Mamaeapoto's land.
4. Meaning "We were in complete accord about the charms of Vavau."
5. The king, the Tui Kanokupolu, and those connected with him, are called  
 [644] *hoo mohefo*. Mohefo is the daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu, who was taken as the  
 [192] principal wife of the Tui Tonga. *Mohe* in *mohefo* is not the same root as *mohe*,  
 sleep (compare with *mohefo*, the Samoan *masiofo*).
6. Pangai is the court of the Tui Kanokupolu, or the place where this king holds  
 [644] his court and great gatherings.
7. The word *liku-loto* is used of an inland place that is precipitous and has the  
 [192] appearance of the cliffs of the weather coast. It is proverbial for that which is not  
 [192] what it seems.
8. The term *faka-vavau* (Vavau fashion) is proverbial for talk that is boastful.
9. "Hiding and squeaking" is used of that which hides, but reveals its presence  
 by noise. Here, apparently, it means lying low and uttering plaints hard to understand.
10. This metaphor is from the game of *lofo*. The raised edge of the mat on which  
 [524] the pieces are thrown is called *kounahu*; players were able to make good use of this,  
 as a billiard player makes use of the cushion. *Futa kounahu* (pride in the raised edge)  
 is pride over a successful shot due to the mat rather than to the player's ability. Hence  
 it indicates boasting of what is due to extraneous circumstances rather than to skill.  
 Evidently Falepapalangi refers to an occasion on which Mamaeapoto has defeated him.  
 Possibly the themes of the poets on that occasion were their native lands, and Fale-  
 papalangi means that Mamaeapoto's victory was due to the scenic superiority of Vavau  
 to Tongatabu rather than to the poet's skill.
11. Perhaps a living dog, or perhaps merely a way of saying that the matter be  
 [825] left to one who is good at following up clues. A dog was prominently associated with  
 [776] the worship of the god Pulotukatoa in eastern Tongatabu.
12. The theft is Mamaeapoto's claim to seamanship.
13. That is, the place where people sit and talk on deck, as distinguished from the  
 working part of the ship. Falepapalangi says that Mamaeapoto wants to leave the

11. By *ma* (we) Tukulua indicates himself and one other, possibly a sweetheart. It is possible that in this regretful farewell to the happy activities of living men and women, he is thinking more particularly, though not exclusively, of the charms of women's company. *Tsula* (perch for birds) would seem more likely to be applied to women than to men; women are frequently called *lupe* (pigeon). For a possible reference underlying *tata anga lei* (place of carving ivory), see *lei mangamanga* (p. 130).

12. By "games" (*tolo*) is meant the sport of dart-throwing, but possibly there is a covert allusion to love.

13. The form of the phrase *tama 'ae fuisui puleoto* (man, lad) of cluster of *puleoto* recalls the Hebrew "son of oil." The *puleoto* is a shell used for the necklaces of chiefs and is a valued ornament of chiefly virgins. To wear this shell is a mark of virginity, for if a girl who is not a virgin wears one suspended from her neck the shell will not lie properly upon her bosom, but will turn over.

14. The *motelolo* is a tree.

15. There are two musical directions in my manuscript copy. The word *fai* apparently marks a part where those who sing the air come in, or perhaps sing alone, and the word *loutoka* is perhaps a direction to the base or seconds. The refrains that recur throughout the piece were probably sung by the full chorus.

#### Page 79. On the death of the Tui Tonga

1. Langichetupua is the name of Tui Tonga's burial vault.

2. The number of pigeons flying about in all the islands (*ota fonua*) was an omen of the King's death.

3. In the original Tongan text *mala 'o paka* is written as three words and would thus mean face (front) of *paka* (flying-fox), but the probability is that it should be taken here as a geographical name. It is possible that the phrase may mean the faces, appearance of the people of Peka (21). Veituna also appears to be a geographical name. Where these places are, or why they are mentioned, is not known.

4. Malamaisaua (indistinctly written, and possibly Malamaisana, but Malamaisaua suits the rhyme and is in all likelihood correct) is probably a place name, perhaps the name of the late Tui Tonga's compound; but it may be one of the names of the King himself.

5. *Otu* means god, spirit. This direct ascription of deity to the king descended from the Lords of Heaven may perhaps be made easier by the fact that he is dead and has returned (or is about to return?) to the land of immortals, but it seems preferable to regard it as a statement of what the Tui Tonga, the Sacred King, actually was in his status as a king, both king of mortals and a god, probably pre-eminently the god so far as men were concerned.

6. Screen (*tatau*). A screen (*kolo*) is sometimes put around the bodies of chiefs during the burial ceremony in the cemetery and, for the very great chiefs, also in the house in which the body lay before being taken to the cemetery. Inside this screen only the *haa tufunga* (compare Maori *tohunga* and cognates in other dialects), members of the family group to whom belonged funerary arrangements, were allowed to enter.

7. Alaiavhamamao, probably a *matapule* of the dead king.

8. "Midrib of the coconut leaflet" signifies the dead king. He is so called because flowers and leaves are strung on the midrib, and the name signifies him who was the center of festival for which garlands and necklaces were prepared; him to whom most of all were brought objects of pleasure and delight.

9. Manono and Fualu are names of localities in Tonga. It is possible that Manono is indicated. The statement has been made in Tonga that there is tradition that the pigeon came from Samoa to Tonga. Perhaps the most likely interpretation is that the pigeon of Manono and Fualu is the dead King, though it is possible that this is the beginning of an address to the women of Manono and Fualu, calling on them to mourn. The loss of the next five lines makes it impossible to decide.

10. At the end of the mutilated line is *etalu*, translated "eight," but of course there is nothing to show that the syllables are not, for example, the end of a name.

11. The use of the word *afio* (reign) does not mean that the king will be king of Pulotu, for Hikuleo is ruler there; but the word *afio* is used of the Tui Tonga and has a wide range of application. It is the word used of the king's being, presence, in any place. The lines mean little more than that he will be in Pulotu, Pulotutumuau (Pulotu stand fast). If Watkin (38) is correct in thinking that the Tongans divided

cord when the hunter attempts to pull it back to him, is probably the figure of courting a girl who is yet too shy and coy to respond to the advances of her lover.

22. "That it be of comfort and use to thee on sea and land."

23. "Thou art skilled in its taking" signifies "Being a bard yourself, and able to carry things of this sort about with you in your mind." How skilled he was in this taking, Falepapalangi presently proved by repeating the whole piece.

24. These lines seem to be a general approval of liberal culture.

25. This apparently is a modest depreciation of his own efforts. Anopepe is in Eua.

26. "Like a steep cliff" is the poet's inability to do justice to the dead man, or to the merits of Falepapalangi. "Two throws strike its face," a very intelligent Tongan explained as indicating a high cliff where a stone dropped from the top struck the cliff face before falling to the bottom; but since two throws are mentioned it would rather suggest throwing a stone from the bottom.

27. The mother of Hikuleo was Havealolofonua, one of the original goddesses, born of seaweed and mud. This hint of her living with Hikuleo in Pulotu (Hikuleo was the god of Pulotu) is very rare, if not unique, in Tongan myth. The Samoan god of Pulotu was Saveasiuleo, preserving in himself both the names Havea and Hikuleo (26; 15. No. 3, p. 276). An old Maui, the grandfather of Maui Kisikisi, is represented as living in the underworld.

28. Atamusi and Atavaha are said to be two gods from Pulotu who brought some forms of wealth to men. The wish is expressed that all the wealth brought by these two, and all the wealth brought in modern times from foreign lands could be given to Falepapalangi to console him in his grief. There is said to have been a man living in Tonga some time ago who was called the Ponepe. I have conjectured that he came from Ponape. The war flag of France is perhaps a reference to the visit of a French vessel of war in the forties of last century. Nuse is presumably New Zealand, although now the Tongans call that country Niu Sila.

29. Konaofafine (Treasure of women) is a name for Falepapalangi.

#### Pages 82-84. Falepapalangi's last poem

1. The name Haapai stands at the head of this piece and at the end, a note that it is the last poem of Falepapalangi.

2. The sneeze is not always a sign of bad luck. It is supposed to be a good sign in a sick man. One informant, however, says that to sneeze in sleep is a sign of death; a sneeze lying on right side is an omen of death on the father's side of the family, if on left, of death on the mother's side, and if the one who sneezes is lying on his back it is a sign of his own death. In ordinary usage a sneeze is greeted with a laugh, as it is said to indicate that someone is in love with the person who sneezes. This recalls the propitious sneezes in Catullus' well-known lines. To sneeze, however, just before entering on some enterprise is said to be a bad sign.

3. Uluakimapa is a nickname (*hinga fakatenetene*) of some chief. These names are always pleasant.

4. By this metaphor of the sea Falepapalangi indicates the coming of his sickness upon him.

5. Some lines possibly have fallen out at this point. There are indicated instances of wrong procedure on the part of a *matapule*, the poet himself, in this instance. He describes his conducting a kava ceremony without having a piece of the root before him. He also describes some wrong disposal of the food (*fono*) served with the kava.

6. This is another sea metaphor; to come up to the wind here means "sailed well up to the wind of success."

7. The text expresses his misplaced confidence and pride; he regarded himself as a man of mark.

8. "To level the hill" is "to lay himself low."

9. Uluakiheilala is a nickname of some chief. The *heilala* is one of the plants used in the garlands and girdles. The chief, in his anxiety for Falepapalangi, gives orders for a boat to be got ready to sail to some place where there is a temple and sanctuary, to supplicate there, and turn away the anger of the god.

10. Heataukakapa is another nickname, probably that of a chief who was a friend of Falepapalangi.

11. The bird of heaven is an omen, presaging the death of Falepapalangi. Kaimotokanga (eat and attend) is a proverbial expression for proceeding warily. The bird



599 8. The incident of the land-fishing of the Maui is introduced to lead up to the  
584 work of Loau, and also as an instance of where even gods did not disdain work of just  
[176] the kind that Ulamoleka himself is doing.

9. Loau (12, pp. 177, 178; 22, pp. 71-73) is remembered as the one who divided the land among the various chiefs, and left ordinances about the kava, and kindred matters.

10. Poukula is in Hihifo in Tongatabu. It is said that an axe was left there by Captain Cook. To be like an old axe is proverbial for what is worn out and inefficient.

11. To be understood as relating literally to Ulamoleka's skill as a fisherman, and figuratively, to his successes among the ladies.

[502] 12. The Hifofua was the canoe of the Tui Kanokupolu. Her crew were all picked  
[644] men; quite possibly chosen literally in the manner indicated, by skill and strength in  
[555] dart-throwing. Ulamoleka is the captain of this fine body of men—and yet this girl  
[524] has the assurance to regard him as too old for her. Again, later in the poem, is a  
reference to another allegation against him, namely, that he was without accomplish-  
ments. A man to be a member of the King's crew must have had in no mean degree  
at least one valued accomplishment of athletic youth, namely, dart-throwing.

13. This address is made probably to the girl by Ulamoleka telling her to trust for his merits to the favors he has received from women in many places. Places are mentioned where he has had sweethearts, some of which at least are the abodes of great chiefly families.

[823] 14. The land side of the road and the lower (sea) side, are very important divi-  
[565] sions in Tongan society. The land side is the Tui Tonga, his chiefs and people im-  
[649] mediately connected with them; the lower side is all else (12, p. 177). Lapaha (com-  
[361] pare Fijian Lambasa) is the village near to the compound of the Tui Tonga. Ohoma-  
[644] fua is a site not now identifiable, presumably the site of a compound near Lapaha  
[102] where the Tui Haatakalaua or the Tui Kanokupolu lived. Pangai, a widespread and  
important name, was applied to residences of the Tui Kanokupolu. Gifford notes a  
compound of this name which was a residence of the Tui Kanokupolu near Tatakamo-  
tonga part, of the modern village of Mua, near Lapaha. Ahau (compare Samoan  
Asau), also a widespread and important name, is apparently especially associated with  
the Tui Kanokupolu. Gifford notes a compound of this name near Lapaha.

15. "As of a double mat was report" may refer to the preceding line, Pangai and Ahau, seats of greatness, famous as a famous double mat, but it seems better to take the line with the one following and refer it to the hapless maiden of Niua. Ulamoleka "heard a great deal about her, but it turns out that there is no bulk in this great mat."

16. Matamoanauta and Faatalamatua are said to be in Hihifo, Tongatabu, though Matamoanauta is noted by Gifford as near Hamula, which is at the other extremity of Tongatabu. The girl is recommended to go to these places with the man whom she has preferred before Ulamoleka. He taunts this out-island girl, telling her to go to places where there is really something worth while, and where she will hear something about the man she has rejected.

17. Poulalahi; evidently a shrine, or sanctuary.

[345] 18. The line of mounds; the pigeon-snaring mounds in Hihifo. Ulamoleka was connected with the chiefs of Hihifo through his mother. On his father's side he was a descendant of Tungi Manai, who belonged to the Tui Tonga families of eastern Tongatabu.

[484] 19. To be in Haapai but not in Tofua, the volcanic mountain island on the western fringe of the Haapai group, is a proverbial expression for an untravelled, or incompletely travelled man. The poem says the hundred hills of the crest of Tofua could tell why Ulamoleka has not been seen more in the games and festivals ashore; he has not become better known because his life has been spent in voyaging to all sorts of places.

20. One copy reads *S'i' anga 'oe 'ou na luma* (dear manner of that reproach of thine), which gives good sense. The other copy, which I have followed, reads *S'i' anga 'oe aualuma*. The word *aualuma* is rare in Tongan and it probably is not Tongan, and Pratt gives the meaning for Samoan, "a company of single ladies," which fits the context admirably. Further, as a matter of criticism, the change from *aualuma*, a word strange to the majority of Tongans, to *'ou na luma*, is more likely than that the change was made in the opposite direction.



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4. Inumomea, unidentified, is probably a friend, man or woman, or even a place.  
 5. This line means "Mulikihaamea is still pre-eminently handsome, and I have obtained the girl's favors simply through his kindness." It is not clear why he should be said to be forgetful of Vaea, unless it be that Vaea and not Tangataioa, might have expected to receive this mark of favor.

6. The King, Hau, is probably Mulikihaamea himself.

7. The poet says if they want to find him they must "set the course" by the village of Lakepa and then, having used this metaphor of navigation, he mentions various stars, passes to names of plants and flowers, and returning to a star, asks that all be brought to deck his sweetheart.

8. Maukuomaa, Tapukitea, Alotolu, Kaukupenga, Aouvea are names of stars and constellations.

9. The *hinganoleka*, *unuioisale* and *telefa* are plants. I have not been able to find meaning of *tapua-tamata*, but comparison with Fijian suggests the possibility of its being the name of an ivory ornament.

## Pages 89-94. Poem of Teukava

1. It is doubtful whether the detailed account of the fighting necessary to explain all the allusions is any longer recoverable. Many passages remain obscure.

2. Tangaloa, god of the sky; Maui, god of the underworld. This is a general call to Heaven and the Underworld, or Earth itself, to harken.

3. Foui, named from a foui tree which stood there, was the abode of Vahai, who played so prominent a part in the fighting and led the forces which avenged the defeat of Hihifo. Nukumaanu and Vakatofoi are the names of two beaches near Foui.

4. Kaumatule and Pauli; two famous warriors of the family of Vahai.

5. This passage is obscure. It may mean that the kings chiefs, *kaa tui* (tribe of kings, or royal tribe), are the Tui Tonga and his chiefs, and that they were annoyed that the blind king, *tui pouli*, should join in the war (on the side of Vahai). The *tui pouli* is explained by one informant as "those who came over the sea," that is, Haapai and Vavau. Another informant suggests that the reference is to the blind chief of Hoi, in eastern Tongatabu, who might naturally be supposed to be inclined to join with the warriors of Hahake against Hihifo. There is no confirmation of this supposition. Vahai, the son of Nuku, himself originally belonged to Hahake, and moved to Hihifo on marriage with the daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu. I think it not improbable that the reference is to Takai, chief of Pea, who, Mariner tells us, was blind in one eye and whom Commander Wilkes refers to as blind, writing of course at a considerably later period. Takai might have been expected to throw in his lot whole-heartedly with the Hihifo chiefs, and he did become a partisan of Vahai; but Mariner's narrative, dealing with events rather later than those referred to in this poem, shows an inclination on Takai's part to coquette with the idea of alliance with Finau. If Takai be the *tui pouli* then the *kaa tui* would be the Hihifo chiefs who are fighting to vindicate the position of the Tui Kanokupolu.

6. "Hand that was shaken" is explained as "to have no further dealings with," and as "having conquered," and is referred to Vahai's conquest of Tongatabu.

7. Inasiulu, is an unidentified chief. It is explained in the poem that this is not his real Tongan name, but a name given him abroad, perhaps in Fiji. Possibly Tupou Malohi is meant.

8. The phrase *moke toto* (to sleep in blood, to sleep with an unfinished task still to be carried through) originates with warriors who fight on till night lying down to rest without washing the blood from themselves as the battle must be resumed with the return of day. This seems to refer to the Battle of Toafa, in which the great Hihifo chiefs were wounded, hence "overthrown."

9. Several occurrences of the place name Tupou are noted by Gifford. I know nothing about Telasili. Nacata and Vakaisanini are said to be two warriors.

10. In the "lower chiefly road" the reference seems to be clearly to the Tui Kanokupolu chiefs, who were the people of the lower side of the road. Probably the meaning is that the Tui Tonga will appear and will interfere in the disturbances of the Tui Kanokupolu.

11. The hope that the Tui Tonga and his chiefs would make peace proves to be vain. The Tui Tonga played a very inconspicuous part throughout the disturbances, revealing the real weakness into which he had fallen, and from the natural consequences of which his sacred prestige was not to save him much longer.

occurs as a place name. The Tui Pelehake was a great chief of the Tui Tonga's family; and Pelehake was the name of a famous regiment. 539

32. The night when Tukuaho was murdered. 669

33. The reference may be to the slaying of some chief, possibly belonging to the Tui Tonga's family. The native commentator whose notes appear in the margin of one copy, says that the line refers to the digging up of Ulukalala's body and making a general of it; but even comment fails to make the line clear. If it is correct the poem can not have been composed by the Teukava whose death Mariner relates.

34. Teeki is the scene of a famous battle. The commentator says that Teukava fell there. If this be true the naming of this poem by him can not mean that he composed it. Mariner (28, vol. I, pp. 279-281) says that Teukava was killed in an attack on Nukunuku, which is a little to the east of Teeki. Countless harmonistic conjectures may be made, but if the ascription of the composition of the piece to Teukava, and the assumption that he is the man mentioned by Mariner, are to be retained—and there is after all no need that either of these suppositions should be accepted—it will be simplest to assume that Teukava was killed at Nukunuku, as related by Mariner, and that "the morning in Teeki" indicates an earlier battle.

35. "Burning of Pangai" is the murder of Tukuaho.

36. Kolopelu is said to be the people of Ata in Hihifo.

37. The reference is not clear. The Latu are said to be descendants of Tokemoana, who, as the Rev. Havea pointed out to me, was in Lifuka at the time of the assassination of Tupou Niu. (See 25, vol. I, p. 129.)

38. The coconut is evidently to be used medicinally. The advice is addressed perhaps to the enemy, sarcastic advice to put themselves into good shape for fighting, or perhaps, with still more biting satire, addressed to faint-hearted friends whose health did not permit of their joining in the defence of their rights.

39. Kelo and Kefu are two warriors. [101]

40. Felepule is a green (*malae*), in the village of Haateiho, and the "road in Lau," a portion of a road in that place.

41. This is taken by the poet to be reproach, felt to be undeserved, of friendliness with Finau's party. That all relations of friendship between Finau and some at least of the chiefs of Hihifo were not suspended is clear from Mariner's narrative (28, vol. I, Chapter VIII).

42. Alaku is the boat of the chief Lavaka. Lavaka is represented as knowing what he is doing; as acting with clear light.

43. To "reckon the wind in the house," is to talk without knowledge of the subject. To be in a position to make a remark about the wind it is necessary to go outside.

44. Tuise, Uluulu, and Fue are attendants at sanctuaries.

45. Monu is a chief in Kanokupolu.

46. The lordship of Mataele is the Tui Kanokupolu. The third and fourth holders of the office were named Mataele. During the tenure of the former of these Mataele Tuapiko (Mataele Crookback) there becomes apparent a great enhancement of the prestige of the house. [449]

47. On the *malae* (green) in Kanokupolu stood a koka tree where the Tui Kanokupolu was installed. The King sat with his back to this tree, a portion of which has been built into the back of the modern throne now in use in Nukualofa. [443]

48. Lizard (Moko) and Octopus (Feke), the gods of Lauaki and Motuapuaka, are the two leading *matapule* of the Tui Kanokupolu. [776]

49. Vikena is said by one to be the name of a great warrior of Finau, and by another to be the son of Ata, a great chief of Hihifo. Both, of course, may be correct. [644]

50. Translation uncertain. If the suggested translation is correct the meaning is that he will see the defeat of the people of eastern Tongatabu. The traditional duty of the Tui Pelehake is to guard the Tui Tonga.

51. Sinae means chiefly house, or houses, closely connected with the Tui Tonga. Perhaps the Tui Tonga and his chiefs in general are here meant.

52. Kuli is evidently the name of the blind warrior who stood with his daughter at the side of the road along which the Hihifo army marched, and struck as the girl told him his foes came within striking distance. Although this poem is written from the standpoint of Hihifo, yet the bard is generous enough to celebrate a deed performed against his own side.

53. The commentator says that the deceitful Fijian is named Tahifisi.

## 539 Pages 103-104. The environs of Nukualofa

823 1. This poem is assigned, but apparently incorrectly, to Falepapalangi, the bard  
[538] of Hihifo, who is represented by a number of pieces in this collection. The seventeenth and eighteenth lines and the closing portion of the poem indicate that the composer was a man of Vavau. These lines may be ironical, or meant to indicate that he has become accustomed to the praise of Vavau in his work and has developed a fondness for that part of the group. It is much more probable that the lines about Vavau are to be taken literally. The piece may have been composed by Falepapalangi's great rival Mamaeapoto.

2. Reckoning from Tonga the "wind from the back of Koloa" would be about northeast.

[103] 3. Tongataepa (Tonga without respect) is a portion of the modern town of  
[102] Nukualofa, where a number of chiefs lived. The name indicates that the locality was so chiefly that it paid respect to no other locality, but had respect paid to it.

4. Onemalama was a bathing-place of the chiefs in Tongataepa; it is now filled up.

5. There is a *ngingie uta*, land *ngingie*, and a *ngingie lahi*, sea, or seashore, *ngingie*.

6. Veitata, a pool.

7. Names of localities or compounds.

8. Veimusieua; a pool in Nukualofa, near the home of the chief Ata.

9. This is not a compound, but a clump of *kahikahi*, a fern-like plant.

10. The meaning of this line not clear. A slight emendation, changing *hono* to *hoto*, would give the meaning "my mind has been hidden," which would be in keeping with other lines, indicating the poet's ignorance of some of the localities.

[164] 11. Malaealoa, in the modern Nukualofa, is a *malae* (burial ground) belonging to  
[164] the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui and his family.

12. Faleuipapai is a burial ground belonging to the Tui Kanokupolu Aleamotua and his family. It is alongside Malaealoa, and the two burial grounds are now joined in one.

539 13. Fulepulekai is the site of the present British Residency and Consulate. There  
823 is a cape of the same name in Vavau.

14. Tupouveiongo, or simply Veiongo, is the hill on which the Wesleyan Church in Nukualofa stands; it is called, since its application to this Christian use, Saione, Zion. Veiongo (sounding water) is said to have been given to the hill because the sound of flowing water could be heard by placing the ear to the ground.

[368] 15. Felemaka, a locality inland in Nukualofa is now the dwelling of a Wesleyan native minister.

16. Mataloko, Ngatulahi and Sisilouango are the names of headlands or eminences (*matanga*) in Vavau.

17. Tatauvalo means the top of the hill Talau in Vavau.

18. Falefilimoto is given by Gifford as a sea-cliff in Vavau. A timber used in house-building is termed *filimoto*.

## Pages 104-105. Vavau and Haapai

1. Keitahi and Tausisivavaki are beaches in Vavau.

2. Lofia is the volcano in Tofua, Haapai. Vailahi (Great water) would seem to be the crater lake of this volcano. That the volcanic cone is in the lake is a peculiar construction. Their being in close association must be understood without pressing the local significance of 'i. It is said, however, that Lofia is the name of the god who lies within the crater and spouts out fire and smoke and stones.

[776] 3. Paluki is a beach, affording excellent anchorage for small boats, in Lifuka,  
[504] Haapai. Kasivaki is unidentified, but is evidently a place in the same locality.

[551] 4. Loupua (Leaf of *pua*, a plant with sweet-smelling blooms) is a nickname for  
[101] the king, possibly the King of Haapai. The people of Haapai generally are said to be sometimes called *pua*. Haapai is a cluster of islets, scattered so that its people spend more time at sea than do those of any other part of Tonga. This exposure to wind and weather is said to give them a ruddy complexion, whence the nickname *pua* for the red blooms of the plant. Pangai is on the island of Lifuka, Haapai.

539 5. When vessels visit Haapai they put in at Lifuka, but it is possible that the  
823 remains of the *Port-au-Prince*, in which Mariner arrived in 1806 are indicated. The  
[726] *Port-au-Prince* was cut out on the sea-front of Lifuka. She was burned, but her final resting place was in shallow water and doubtless a little wreckage was visible.

539 associations with gallant adventures, or are suitable for lovers' walks. Such allusions are characteristic of Tongan poetry, which seldom deals in outspoken passion.

823 2. Falaovuna (Mat of Vuna) is a beach. Level stretches of sand or sward are not infrequently named *fala* (mat) of some notable personage of history or tradition.

[103] 3. "Landaman," that is one unskilled in things of the sea; here, a man unskilled, [192] unsuccessful, in love.

4. Two rods are placed out over the stern of the canoe in bonito fishing. The [226] inference is that the gallant has won the favors of two ladies.

[192] 5. The line means "my ivory (hook) with a fringe or decoration of red-birds' feathers"; hence a hook that is valuable and attractive. A variant can be translated [192] "feather of double bird."

6. The word *lafo* (thrown) is used of presenting mats.

7. The ill-fortune is that the poet has gone off the track and almost passed without mention a place that should be mentioned.

8. Kaunimasini; an overhanging rock.

9. Makao; a rock.

[103] 10. Holoni is the name of some scattered boulders at the foot of one of the Vavau [192] cliffs. The phrase means an unsuccessful fishing day, an interpretation is that these rocks are washed by the sea, but do not take any fish; that man will endure being wetted by the sea because he gets fish, but a rock has no such compensation. Possibly the idea that this is not a good fishing place is included in the expression and also a reminiscence of an unsuccessful love affair of the bard's. Besides meaning washed by the sea, the phrase signifies boats getting together and sharing provisions. Crews [226] will not eat while bonito or shark are in sight, so there is the possible interpretation of [262] getting together to eat because there is no fishing worth troubling about.

11. Tave, a cliff.

12. Potuitoume, a rock standing in the sea.

[192] 13. The *pipihale* is a plant (*Hernandia moerenhontiana*).

#### Page 106. Vavau

1. The poem celebrates the beauty of Vavau, a theme worthy of the muse. In form it is an imaginary excursion over headlands, hills, and beaches. Many of the places named are *matanga* (lookout places, eminences), many on the coast, whence a good view may be obtained.

[103] 2. Kafoa and Aloitalau (or simply Talau) are hills.  
3. Tuanuku, Teleki, Fau, Pau, and Utukalongalu are names of beaches. The following five lines contain names of *matanga*.

[103] 4. Finemaukava is a *matanga*.  
[361] 5. Paleamote and Kalae are the names of two *api* (tracts of land, compounds). There is no one English word to render *api*. It is the nearest equivalent to "home."

[103] 6. Fukotokanga, Fukomafa, Fakatoumamana, names of *api*.

7. Two *matanga*.

8. Sisilouango and Tatauoalo, names of *matanga*.

9. Vaimasiniake, a pool.

[76] 10. Potuitoume; a rock standing in the sea. The word means end or stump, of a torch. A goddess (Hina?) went fishing with a torch, and when she had finished she threw the end of it into the sea as she went ashore. This rock is the end of the torch.

#### Pages 106-107. Weather coast of Selenga

1. This poem is in praise of a locality named Selenga, which is evidently on the weather coast of some part of Vavau. Not all of the names mentioned have been identified, but those that have are of places in Vavau.

2. The name Koate is unidentified. There is a Vavau chief of this name.

3. The line *Malama e taulaki penepena* interpreted means, "Gleam [the chiefs who have] dressed their heads with lime."

[551] 4. Taiheunga (Smite the crab) and Mahinaea (Appearing moon) are the chiefs [103] whose beauty fresh from bathing is spoken of. It is possible, however, that these are place names.

[343] 5. I was unable to find the meaning of *tofalea*. (Compare the Samoan, *tofale*, to build houses.) Houses were built on mounds, *kolonga*, near the *sia*, to keep apparatus

533 poem, is in the same region. It is a beach famous as a place for riding the breakers,  
where the chiefs of eastern Tongatabu enjoyed this sport.

539 15. Vai Aku, may be translated "My pool," and it is quite possible that the bard  
(Mulikihaamea himself?) refers to a pool named after himself.

103 16. This possibly is the name of some locality.

17. Huangalau is perhaps the name of a bonito fishing reef. If this be correct the "good report" would be, not of beauty, but of fruitfulness as a fishing place.

18. A conjectural translation is made of "*fili talai*." A variant *fililai*, is unintelligible to me.

19. Fakaulunafa is in eastern Tongatabu; and doubtless Valekatoua is there also.

#### Pages 116-117. A song of fishers

533 1. This piece was probably performed by a line of women, either standing or  
539 sitting, with perhaps a line of men behind them. Actions of the hands would represent the various phases and actions of the chase.

12. The time indicated is December to January (Liha Mua).

[551] 2. Tefisi, an important and widely distributed Polynesian name. There are numerous occurrences of the name throughout every part of Tonga, with which are associated chiefs of all the great houses, Tui Tonga, Tui Haatakakala, and Tui Kanokupolu (21).

[103] 3. Fasia, a beach on the islet of Nukunukumotu.

[103] 4. Tofoa; a reef near Fasia. Halakakala; a fishing ground near the island of Eueiki.

[103] 5. Faiana is a cave at the bottom of a steep cliff in Eua. The other names are not identified, but are doubtless names of fishing grounds, tracts of the sea, points of land, or the like. Taane (spelling uncertain, Taane, Tane) may possibly be a hint that the great god Tane, so important in some parts of Polynesia, but of whom nothing is to be heard in Tonga, was not always unknown in this group. (See 34.)

[174] 6. The word *lau matangi* means wind-reckoner, that is, sea captain.

[276] 7. When a great chief comes ashore from a voyage the head sailor (*toutai*) distributes the kava at the first ceremonial kava-drinking.

[127] 8. This translation is purely conjectural. It is not unlikely that the text is corrupt.

9. In taking *mana* to mean thunder there is of course the implication that the thunder is *mana*, omen, sign, for the fishing expedition.

533 10. Holoavaki, a beach in Eueiki.

539 11. Matafota, the sea near Halakakala.

103 12. Vainoa is probably a name of a stretch of sea, but possibly it is just descriptive of the place where the fishers row about, an open waste of sea.

13. Hopohoponga, the name of a stretch of sea.

14. In Nimafuaatu the division of words is uncertain, but taken together they are probably the name of a stretch of sea. Taken as an expression, *nima-fua-uta* describes accurately the method of carrying the bonito, *atu*. When the *atu* is taken to a chief it is *fua*, carried on the shoulder, not *tafitaki*, carried in the hand. "Into the shallow," indicates that the pursuit is driving the fish inshore.

15. Peauapuaka is unidentified, but is conjectured to be a place in the sea. The suggestion is made that it may be the name of a place where the fishermen frequently cease from their sport, and get together to eat. The remains of the food, among which would be pig, are thrown into the sea; hence Wave-of-pig.

16. Late is of frequent occurrence as a place name. Houma Late is a headland on the eastern coast.

17. Tama and Upeupe are names of fishermen.

#### Pages 117. A song of fishers

[551] 1. In the Tongan text this piece is headed *Sinaitakala i Langileka*, Tui Tonga Fefine. Several of the known Tui Tonga Fefine are named *Sinaitakala*, being distinguished, as here, by some addition to the name. The descriptive "*i Langileka*" was added probably after the death of this *Sinaitakala*, and indicates the royal vault in which she is buried. It is still the custom to speak of deceased kings according to their place of burial. *Sinaitakala i Langileka* was the daughter of Telea, the twenty-ninth Tui Tonga, who lived about the middle of the seventeenth century. She and



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**215. Aunga mo kaunanga:** Fishing with a servant woman.

*Aunga*, translated fishing, means rather the place where the fishing is done, or other rendezvous. The meaning is to have an appointment with one who is under the orders of another and is not free to see the sport, or what not, for which the meeting was arranged. It is also used of, say, fishing in company with one who wants to take the fruit of the sport to the chief, keeping none for the fishers. 539  
226  
571  
[622]

**216. Fangota fai ki he kato ava:** Fishing into the basket with a hole in it. 539  
226  
773  
776

This expression is analogous to such English expressions as "carrying water in a sieve." It is said to owe its origin to the ruse of the legendary hero Longopoa who sailed to Pulotu, the Tongan Paradise and Abode of the Dead. Longopoa wished to find his way back to Tonga but did not see how it could be managed. At length he saw his opportunity in a fishing expedition of some of the gods of Pulotu in which he was invited to join. Being entrusted with the basket into which the spoil was to be put, he made a hole in the end of it and as fast as the fish handed to him by the divine sportsmen were put in they fell out through the hole. In this way the fishing excursion was prolonged until the party reached Tonga, as Longopoa had foreseen and designed. As they were fishing the gods would now and again ask, "How's our basket? Full yet?" And Longopoa would as often reply, "No, there's still room." At length the gods exclaimed in surprise, "Why, this is fishing into a leaky basket."

**217. Fetulaki a kupenga tutui:** Mixing of fishermen who go straight through entanglements. 539  
226  
571  
461

*Tutui* means to go right through obstacles, as one who bursts through jungle or brush. The phrase indicates fishing parties who have come into close proximity, but waste no time in talking to each other or even in exchanging the civilities that the rank of any of the fishers might ordinarily demand. Fishing, moreover, was an occupation that did not wait on man, the proper times for the fish being marked by moon and tide; it is a case of now or never. The expression is applied to people or parties of workmen who will not be diverted from their occupation by outside interruptions. Baker gives: "The contest of two persons or parties equally strong or courageous."

**218. Hala kea ahia:** Faulty but tried.

Nets and snares for both land and sea creatures were examined and tested. It might happen that the sportsmen at last weary of trying to correct a weakness or fault in their net or snare, determined to give it a trial, when, although not very optimistic of the result, they make a fine catch. Never mind what the net or snare is like give it a trial, who knows what luck we may have? 539  
226

**219. Hage ha pa iloa:** Like a famous hook.

Fish-hooks were named and their reputations known and spread abroad. This expression is equivalent to saying famous, well known. [552]



539tical, but would be readily intelligible in a context. It means that a back-  
823woods, out of the way place like Tolu had better not interfere with the  
183affairs of other places. It is a way of telling anyone to mind his own  
business.

539344. Nae tai ae vaka Mounga-one koe ikai hano eiki: The  
829Mounga-one boat was smitten because it had no chief.

554 The story is that a party of men sailed from Mounga-one in Haapai to some part of Fiji. On landing they cooked themselves some chestnuts (*Inocarpus edulis*), which were passed around and eaten in a most informal manner. While this was going forward a party of Fijians appeared, and feeling sure from the haphazard, go-as-you-please way in which the Tongans were taking their food that no chief was present they fell on them and slew them. This incident is jocularly referred to by one of a working party who is lazy, or who perhaps really deserves a rest, and wants to sit down. He sits down with the remark that the Mounga-one boat was cut out because there was no chief there, his meaning being that he will sit down and play the chief for the party he is with.

539345. Oku ikai ha vaka e mate i tahi ka e mole ai a Haano: There  
184is not a boat lost at sea but a Haano man perishes there.

The people of the island of Haano in Haapai have the reputation of being such incorrigible wanderers that a boat cannot be wrecked without there being someone from this island among the drowned. Wherever you find a boat you are sure to find at least one Haano man on board.

539346. Kama e tevolo i Kao, Kae tuku e tevolo aau: Reaching out  
776to, attending to, the devil in Kao, but not noticing your own devil.

183 In its present form this appears to be modern, and it is impossible to say whether there was an older form in which the word *tevolo* is replaced by something more certainly ancient and genuinely Tongan. The second line is sometimes rendered, *Kae tuku ae tevolo ho ao*. But not noticing the devil in your presence. The expression apparently originated in Haapai, where the island peak of Kao is situated. It is used here as the type of that which is distant: concerned over evils at a distance but regardless of the evils which are close at hand. (Compare Nos. 422 and 423.)

539347. Tekefili hange ko Kao: Lying manifest like Kao.

823 The high conical island of Kao in Haapai is the most striking feature in the seascape for very many miles around. "As plain as Kao" means much the same as "As plain as a pike-staff," but is a much more striking and forcible expression.

348. Koe mamao he ko Aka: Distant, for 'tis Aka.

Aka is the name of a reef near the islands of Tofua and Kao, the two volcanic mountains of the Haapai group. To reach this reef involved a long sail from the islands that were the main centers of population but

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922  
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canoes used to go there for fishing. The expression is used generally of a long voyage to reach a reef. 539  
823

**349. Manako maka fai ki Tofua:** Wishing for rock in Tofua. 539

Volcanic stones and pebbles from Tofua are highly valued for several purposes, but Tofua is far from most of the inhabited islands, the anchorage is bad, and contrary winds are frequently met with, especially in returning. Wishing for stones from Tofua, therefore, is to desire something that is worth having but difficult to obtain. 823  
183

**350. Taka Haapai tae i Tofua:** Going about Haapai without being in Tofua. 539  
823  
484

The meaning of this is similar to that of No. 335, the volcanic mountain of Tofua being as inconveniently situated with respect to the main portion of the Haapai group as Eua is with respect to Tongatabu. (See also No. 352.)

VAVAU AND NIUA FOOU

[Vavau is the most northerly of the Tonga Islands with the exception of the outlying islands of Niua Tobutabu and Niua Foou. Vavau is high and picturesque and possesses an exceedingly fine harbor. Niua Foou is about midway between Vavau and Samoa.] 131  
133

**351. Kai pe e Ngaunoho ae fua o enau gaue kovi:** Ngaunoho is merely eating the fruit of its ill deed. 539  
823

As a proverb this is one of the many expressions found scattered throughout the world which warn erring mortals that they must reap as they sow. Ngaunoho is a village in Vavau, and is said to have been once a flourishing place but to have fallen from its old prosperity through having offended its chief. Its present decrepitude is the fruit that it has to bite on. 622  
626  
829

**352. Taka Haafuluhao tae i Poujini:** Going about in Haafuluhao without being in Poujini. 539  
823

Haafuluhao is a common name for Vavau, the northern part of the Tonga Islands. Poujini is a small islet near Haalaufuli in Vavau which is not often visited. This is similar to Nos. 335 and 350.

**353. Tala kei i Kapa:** Tell still in Kapa.

Kapa is an island in Vavau, lying close to the island of Mala. The route from Kapa to the mainland lies through Mala, where once dwelt a formidable cannibal man or demi-god. Warnings should be given or preparations made in Kapa before passing on to Mala, where one was in deadly peril. Used generally of taking time by the forelock, making all preparations to meet danger before one is actually involved in it. 539  
776  
266  
183

# DISTINGUISHED PERSONS

359. **Halaia Moli** *tuku* *kia* **Loli**: Moli guilty—attribute it to Loli. 539  
 We have no information about Moli and Loli, but the phrase means 571  
 that the blame of one man's wrong-doing is thrown onto another.

360. **Hola** *pe* *te* *ke* *hao* *ki* *he* *fale* *o* **Vave**: Flee that you may be 539  
 safe to the house of Vave. 571 701

Vave was a great warrior who lived in Haavakaotua, a district near Nukualofa. So great was his might and so secure were those whom he protected that to flee to him for safety passed into a proverb.

361. **Tekei** *a* **Lei** *hono* *fuu* *mei*: Pushing Lei from his bread- 539  
 fruit tree. 571

We have not been able to get any story relative to Lei or his bread- 421  
 fruit tree, but the expression means to deprive anyone of what rightfully belongs to him.

362. **Vikia** *vikia* *a* **Apolosi**, **Pea** *kuo* *te* *viku* *pongipongi*: Apollos 539  
 is praised, praised, and I am wet in the morning. 793

This is modern, since the introduction of Christianity. Apollos was a Tongan native clergyman held in high repute. On one occasion he was sailing in a boat with a silly man named Pane whom during the course of the voyage he pushed into the sea. Pane sank, and as he came up vented his disgust at the cleric's treatment in the above rather cryptic utterance. The force of "in the morning" seems to be either that the outrage was perpetrated early in the day, or early in the voyage, or perhaps that this was Pane's first acquaintance with the reverend gentleman, and so "right away," "first go off." "Here's a nice sort of chap for you; everybody praises him, but all I've ever got out of him is a jolly good ducking."

# LEGENDARY DEITIES

363. **Alu** *hifo* *ki* *takele* *o* **Maui**: Go down to Maui's foundation. 539  
 that is, to the depths of the earth. 776

In the distribution to the gods of residences the Underworld was 773  
 assigned to Maui.

364. **Jika** *a* **Maui**: Darting of Maui. 539

Used of a long throw in the game of *jika*. Baker renders the phrase, 776  
 "columns of smoke," which seems to liken a column of smoke rising straight 773  
 and high into the air to the great cast which Maui might be expected to 524  
 make in the form of *jika* in which the object was to throw as high as  
 possible; but since the Maui lived in the Underworld it may be that the  
 column of smoke is likened to a cast of these redoubtable deities from their  
 subterranean home into the upper air.

- 539 365. **Tamajii tali kelo:** Tiresome child, especially of one who  
 776 talks insistently of what he can do, or is going to do, but does  
 773 not do it.

The literal meaning is rather obscure, but appears as "child receiving, or stopping, catching, brown," which is not the most intelligible of phrases. Tongan tradition assigns the origin of the expression to Maui Atalanga, the father of Maui Kijikiji; during the time when the two Maui were living in Vavau. At least two accounts are extant of the circumstances in which the phrase was first used, but they vary only in details. Tradition is agreed that the Maui were living in the neighborhood of Haalaufu and Taanea. In the one account they went to slay a huge man-eating rat. They found the beast sitting in the mouth of his hole. The rat rushed at them, but they struck it and it fled for shelter to its nest. Then the question arose between the Maui of a plan of campaign. Each wished the other to dig the rat out while he himself waited to receive it as it ran out. At length the elder gave in to the importunity of his son, impatiently exclaiming as he did so "*le tamajii tali kelo*," perhaps, "A fine sort of boy to receive this brown beast." Young Kijikiji, however, was as good as his vaunt and seized and strangled the rat as he ran from his lair. The other account says that the two Maui went to catch a big brown pig and the dispute was as to who was to pelt the pig and who to catch him as he ran in his direction. As before the elder Maui exclaimed "*le tamajii tali kelo (ni)*," "A fine sort of boy to catch (or receive) this brown creature," or, "A boy to catch this brown creature." It may be noticed that in Fijian there is a word *g-gel* meaning lame (Hazelwood, Fijian and English Dictionary, translates *gelo* as "crooked-footed, soles turned up"). If this word existed in Tongan it would [578] have the form *kelo*. For the elder Maui to exclaim angrily to his son "Boy fit to catch a lame man, or creature," seems more in line with the abusive language of the Tongans, as of other peoples, than the explanations noted above; but, however attractive this may be, it cannot be adopted in the absence of positive evidence that *kelo* in the sense of lame has been used in Tongan.

366. **Tamajii ukei kia Maui:** A boy challenging Maui, the legendary divine hero.

[183] This refers to one who has the assurance to challenge another stronger than himself. It is said to owe its origin to the impudent violence of the younger Maui, Maui Kijikiji, to his father Maui Atalanga, as a result of which the elder felled the younger with a spade. In Tongan legend the exploits of Maui Kijikiji quickly outrivalled those of his father Atalanga and to assign this phrase to the encounter between the two Maui may not seem therefore altogether appropriate. In any case the meaning is apparent.

367. **Tavatava i Manuka:** The literal meaning seems to be unknown in Tonga, but the expression indicates the betrayal of a secret.

Tongan legend ascribes the origin of this phrase to Tonga-fu-tonga, Tonga the Land-Fisher, from whom the Maui procured the hook with

which were hauled up from the depths of the sea many of the Tongan<sup>539</sup>  
 and other islands. Tonga-fuji-fonua lived in Manuka (Manu'a) in Samoa,<sup>776</sup>  
 and when the Maui's boat touched there the youngest Maui, Kijikiji,<sup>773</sup>  
 jumped ashore and met Tonga's wife, of whose person and heart he quickly  
 made himself master. Tonga himself was away fishing at the time, and  
 the woman confided to Kijikiji the secret of the right hook to select when  
 they should make their request to him on his return. This hook was a  
 rusty, unattractive object, and Tonga exclaimed when the Maui chose it,  
 "Who has *tavatava* i Manuka for you?" An informant told Mr. Gifford  
 that Tavatava was the name of the woman who betrayed the secret of the  
 hooks to Kijikiji, but this appears a very doubtful derivation. We do not  
 know the word in Tongan, though there are words which may contain  
 the same root. Krämer states (Die Samoa-Inseln, II. Band, p. 423) that  
 Tavatava is the name of a fish in Samoa, and quotes a song connected  
 with the Tui Manu'a, in which this fish is mentioned (op. cit., I. Band, p.  
 422). Edward Tregear (Mangareva Dictionary) gives a word *tavatava* in  
 Mangarevan meaning "clamorous and noisy in speaking; to speak shrilly or  
 in a loud voice."

There is probably, however, some story or traditionary explanation  
 connected with the phrase. In our ignorance of it mere guesses are futile.

368. Kuo hange kuo emo e Faifaimalie: It is as though Fai-  
 faimalie had licked it up.

Faifaimalie (Do gently, go slowly) was a goddess famous for her  
 appetite. She especially distinguished herself during a visit to Pulotu. Not  
 stopping at the food provided by her divine entertainers, she made a clean  
 sweep of the baskets and other containers in which it was brought. Fai-  
 faimalie's lick, therefore, indicates a complete clearance.

369. Tala pouli a puko: The puko telling in the dark.

Baker renders this expression: "To backbite and be overheard by the<sup>539</sup>  
 party." Among the present-day Tongans this phrase seems to be lost, at all<sup>773</sup>  
 events with the meaning given by Baker. It has been also explained as<sup>571</sup>  
 meaning to disobey, to be told to do a thing and not to do it—an interpre-<sup>824</sup>  
 tation connected with the story of the speaking puko tree, which grew in  
 Pulotu. The legendary traveller, Longopoa, who had made a journey to  
 Pulotu, encountered this wonderful tree, which not only spoke but which  
 was able to supply food, drink, shelter and other mortal wants. When  
 leaving, Longopoa took a branch of this tree, which the tree itself told him  
 to plant on his return to Tonga before he greeted his friends. Had Longo-  
 poa done as he was told the puko trees in Tonga, all of which sprang  
 from this branch, would have been speaking trees like their progenitor.  
 But the traveller neglected the warning and went to see his friends before  
 he planted the tree. The puko tree in Tonga, therefore, does not possess  
 the power of speech. In this account of the meaning of the proverb the  
 significance of the words "in the dark" is said to be that the puko in  
 Pulotu was accosted by Longopoa, supplied his wants and gave him his  
 instructions during the night.

539 This tree in Puluu is called by the Tongans the *puko leo*, speaking  
 723 *puko*, and it is curious that a tree in Samoa which has an equivalent name  
 571 (*pu'ao* andl which is apparently the same tree, is called *pu'angana*,  
 824 speaking *pu'a*. (Krämer, Samoa-Inseln, II Band, p. 381.)

# RELIGION

539370. E umua e tevelo: The devil will be shifted.

776 Applied to one who is very hard to move. The idea is that it would  
 157 be easier to shift a devil than such a one, hard as devils are to move.  
 (Compare Nos. 338, 340 and 133.)

539371. Fahu ae tapu: The prohibition is removed.

554 The word *fahu*, which is of great importance in the understanding of  
 565 the social organization, indicates broadly rights enjoyed by reason of super-  
 784 ior family rank. A tabu can be removed by one who has this superiority to  
 the one who imposed it, and *fahu* thus comes to be a technical word for the  
 removal of tabu. As a question this phrase is used to rebuke one who has  
 presumed to do that which he should not.

539372. Fakua-momoa-tea: White fowl fashion.

825 This seems to be the literal translation, taking *momoa* as the redupli-  
 787 cated form of *moa*, fowl. The white fowl is said to be an omen bird.  
 201 There are two principal senses in which the word is used; first, ominous,  
 presaging evil; second, to weep for the living as though they were dead.

539373. Hange ko Hina: Like Hina.

776 Hina was one of the most talked of goddesses, as Jinilai was one of  
 723 the most talked of gods. Both are represented as very beautiful. Should  
 a discussion arise as to the identity of a goddess in a tale the story was  
 likely to be finally credited to Hina. Similarly Jinilai would probably be  
 [829] hit on if the name of a male diety were in question. So to say that anyone  
 is like Hina means that he is much talked of, or much abused.

539374. Hia i Fanakava: Criminal in Fanakava.

778 Fanakava was the name of a very famous sanctuary in Mua, the chief  
 681 district of Tongatabu, and the home of the Tui Tonga and of other great  
 lords. Up to the introduction of Christianity Fanakava afforded an in-  
 violable sanctuary to all who gained it. The expression indicates a person  
 guilty of some offense but secure from punishment.

539375. Ji e he tevelo: The devil pushing.

776 Used sarcastically to one who is making a poor apology for his bad  
 183 conduct. "H'm, the devil shoved you into it." This phrase, which is recent,  
 is said to have originated with a man who went visiting a lady he should  
 not have visited, and who, when put on trial for his conduct, defended him-  
 self by saying that he went to the woman without knowing what he was  
 doing andl that he supposed the devil must have thrust him into the house.



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376. **Jio pe ka kuo i A'a:** Seeing but in A'a; equivalent to day-dreaming, absent-minded. 539 776

A'a is an island in Vavau where resided the two female deities Jiji and Faingaa, who used to appear in the form of the dark and light-colored heron respectively and to take the spirits of handsome men to their island. The bodies of the beaux thus deprived of their spirits would see and hear and to all appearance be carrying out their normal functions, but their souls were really far away. 825 774

377. **Mamahii tapu ka kuo ilo:** Solicitous for the tabu, but knowing. 539 784

This indicates one who is genuinely desirous of observing a tabu, but who knowing the value or charm of the thing prohibited is irresistibly attracted by it and may in the end even break the tabu. The story of Eve and the fruit has been quoted in illustration of this.

378. **Mana hoo tevolo:** May your devil have power (*mana*). 539 776

A threat of an angry man to another. Your god will need plenty of power to protect you from what I am going to do to you. In its present form it is modern, but with the substitution of some other word for *tevolo* (devil) may well be ancient. Another form of the same phrase is *Manamana hoo tevolo ke la fai*, May your devil have power for us to do (strive together). The meaning of the two phrases is the same. Either expression may be preceded by *Ofa ke*, I hope that.

379. **Ngali pe tevolo moe pouli:** Devil just befitting the darkness

Sprites and ghosts and supernatural appearances usually show up at night. Applied to a person with a bad reputation to whom all sorts of bad actions are likely to be imputed. Having once got the reputation of a devil he is liable to be made to carry the blame for any fresh deed of darkness.

380. **Pekepeka-tama.**

This indicates the white flying-fox said to be an omen of disaster to the house of Ata the chief of Kolovai in the west of Tongatabu, and thence used generally of an omen, portent. The words seem literally to mean, Flying-fox lad, as though one were addressing the observation to another. *Tama*, lad, is frequently applied to chiefs irrespective of age, as *tuahine*, girl, is used of chiefly woman. *Pekepeka* is the usual name for the swift (*Collocalia spodiopyga*), but in this instance seems to be a reduplicated form of *peka*, the flying fox. 539 825 787 565 561 136

381. **Tevolo hala he jikota:** A devil making a road of a kingfisher, that is, manifesting himself through the kingfisher (*Halcyon sacra*). 539 776 825 571 136

The habit of calling the old gods "devils" dates only from the introduction of Christianity. As this expression implies the kingfisher was one

539 of the creatures of which the gods "made boats," as Tongan idiom has it,  
776 that is, in which they appeared. The proverb is applied to one who makes  
825 use of some other person or thing in order to effect his purpose.

571 382. To fuji aki vahaa ufi:

539 Baker renders this phrase, "A part of the heathen ceremony at the  
782 Inu'ji" (An English and Tongan and Tongan and English Vocabulary, p.  
244 209). We have been able to find out nothing about this. Written as  
above it seems to have the perfectly simple sense of planting plantains  
between yams. It has been suggested that the correct meaning may be: to  
use the space between the yams as a measure to calculate the distance apart  
to plant the plantains. This also is quite in accordance with the literal  
meaning of the words. We may divide differently, and write, *To fuji aki*  
*vahaa ufi*, which would seem to mean, "running in between yams." We have  
not discovered either what part of the *Inu'ji* was so named, nor what pro-  
verbial application the phrase had.

## THE PERSON

### CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

539 383. Fie namu pako: - Wishing to smell of pako.

302 The *pako* is a sweet smelling plant used for scenting oil, especially the  
157 oil of chiefs. The expression is capable of two kinds of application: desir-  
554 ing to do well that one's life and actions may have a fragrant odor, and the  
565 less generous meaning of conceit, trying to be like the chiefs.

539 384. Fuji mo omo: Pulling and slipping.

735 Used as noun or adjective equivalent to poverty, poor. Said to indi-  
291 cate literally one who is so poor that he cannot afford enough cloth for a  
proper sized *vaha* (kilt), but has to put up with something so small that  
when he pulls it one way to cover a part of his body another part is left  
bare. Whether this be so or not it has come to mean those who have  
difficulty in "making ends meet."

539 385. Laukau falelava: Finery of various sorts.

291 *Laukau*, personal adornment, is used with the rather depreciatory  
301 nuance with which in English we speak of overdone, or over-vivid finery.  
*Laukau falelava* is not unlike such a colloquialism as, "Having 'em all on."

539 386. Mafana a penu kehe: Warmth of another's bed-clothes.

421 One man may have made himself very snug in another's covering, but  
513 can have no real ground of complaint when the rightful owner comes along  
and takes what belongs to him, leaving the snug man cold. So generally  
one may enjoy the advantage of using another man's property but he has  
no kick coming when the owner takes it to use for himself.

2. **Fetuu-aho:** Day star, or morning star. This is frequently applied to Venus in her early morning appearances, but the name seems equally applicable to any bright star whose rising closely precedes the dawn (compare Samoan *Fetua*, the morning star). 821
3. **Fetuu fuka:** Flag or flagged star, a comet.
4. **Fetuu ejlafi:** Fire-bringing star, shooting star.
5. **Uha:** Rain. Belongs to great deities, the Tangaloa, who reside in the sky. This is the reason why prayers for rain were made to the goddess Tafakula, a descendant of the Tangaloa, who passed human supplications on to headquarters. [782] [776]
6. **Umata:** Rainbow. The rainbow belongs to a deity. It is tabu to point to the rainbow, and should one disregard this prohibition the limb with which he points will swell with elephantiasis or perhaps as with elephantiasis. [776] [781] [753]
7. **Mofulke:** Earthquake—is caused by Maui digging too energetically in his garden in the Underworld. Another account, which is much more doubtful, relates that Maui, getting drowsy, lets the earth totter. Whatever the cause the remedy is simple: make a great noise and beat on the ground to recall the god to a sense of his misdemeanor. 823 776
8. **Ahlohio:** Whirlwind. A blind god, who rushes about not knowing whither he is going nor what damage he is doing. A small whirlwind is a small god and a large whirlwind a great deity. In dealing with this blind god the right procedure is to induce him to go elsewhere by making a noise so that he may know that he is interfering with men. 821 776

I desire to express my thanks to Mr. E. W. Gifford of the Bayard Dominick Expedition, Bishop Museum, who has made available information collected in 1920-1921, including interesting notes written by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker of Haapai; to my wife, whose interest in Tongan lore places me under constant obligation; to Prince Tungi, the Consort of Her Majesty the Queen of Tonga; and to my friends and colleagues of the Methodist Mission, Rev. J. Havca, Rev. D. Malupo, and Rev. A. Tamale. 122

AN AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE.

(51)

I was fully satisfied that they believed the soul to be immortal. I endeavoured then to obtain more information, by appearing ignorant, and desirous of knowledge on the subject. But I could get nothing further from them. Whatever notions they might have, I conceived the poverty of their language prevented their explaining them upon points so abstract.

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And so immersed was I, at this time, in habits of irreligion, that I felt an aversion of heart, to give them proper instruction; nay, I wished to forget it myself; so much does guilt tie up the tongue, and harden the heart against attempting to do any spiritual good, when opportunities offer; and powerfully impel us to depart still farther from God, in order to gain a refuge from uneasy reflections.

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Afterwards however in conversation with some of the chiefs I discovered that they had more precise ideas on a subject of which the commonalty had only confused and indistinct notions. They supposed that their souls immediately after the death of the body, were swiftly conveyed away to a far distant island, called Doobludha, where every kind of food was spontaneously produced, and the blessed inhabitants enjoyed perpetual peace and pleasure, under the protection and favour of the god Fliggolayo, who had supreme power over all other Deities, and warded off from his subjects the attempts of all that would molest or injure them. In-

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1 [Errata: this should read Fliggolayo. Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

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175 to this region, however, they believed none were  
775 admitted, but the chiefs: the tooa, or lower class,  
565 therefore, having no hope of sharing such bliss, seldom speculate upon a futurity, which to them appeared a prospect "lost in shadows, clouds, and darkness."

All, however, seemed to find consolation in calling upon a Deity, in trouble, or applying to him for  
775 a continuance of plenty. They solemnly implored  
776 his blessing, when they set their yams, and expressed  
782 their gratitude to him, when they gathered them,  
[645] by offerings to Duatonga the priest who personated him and interceded for them. Each district also called upon its appropriate God, and each change in the elements summoned them to address its peculiar divinity. Was there a storm? They called

175 on Calla Filatonga, who, they supposed, was the  
776 goddess of the wind. Were they deluged with rain,  
782 or parched with heat? They supplicated Tongaloer,  
821 the god of the sky and rain, as they said, the

175 Deity was very angry. Was there an earthquake?  
776 They cried out to Mowe, a giant who, they supposed, supported the island on his shoulders. An  
782 instance of this occurred not many months after we  
829 had landed at Tongataboo. We had lain down about 10 o'clock, after our evening service, to rest; when we were alarmed by a considerable shock: but our alarm was much increased, immediately after, by an universal shout of all the natives within hearing, in every direction. The next day we

AN AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE.

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inquired into the cause of the uproar; and they told us, with seeming sincerity and unconcern, that the island had been shaken, because the giant mowe, who supported it upon his shoulders, was become weary with his burden, and was beginning to fall asleep; and that for fear he should stumble and throw the island off his shoulders, they had all cried out as loudly as possible, and beaten the ground with sticks, to awake him: that by their howlings he was roused from his drowsiness, and the island was held as fast as before upon his shoulders.

At another time, I was upon the sea-shore, when there was felt a smart shock of an earthquake, and I saw two canoes that were lying upon the beach, shaken with it. The natives did not appear at all alarmed; but immediately began to shout as loud as they could, and to beat the ground with sticks, till it was over. I began to ridicule their folly and superstition: but they took no notice of it: they said they were sure mowe was falling asleep, and they must rouse him; and began again to howl and scream and to strike the earth.

They supposed also that every man had an odooa or particular spirit attending him; and when any thing wonderful excited their attention respecting us or our goods or arts, as was the case with our cuckoo-clock, &c. they would say, "Oye awa koo odooa fogue!" "O dear, he has a spirit!" The odooa or particular spirit, which presides, as they

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175 suppose, over every one, sends afflictions and maladies  
776 if he is angry, and when irreconcilable, occasions  
[784] the death of the person. It is to render him propi-  
[761] tious that the relations so often wound themselves,  
[782] and sometimes put some of the sick persons' wives or  
domestics to death.

By this time, having become very fluent in the  
175 language, I extended my acquaintance, and was  
777 the companion of the chiefs in most of their expedi-  
123 tions and excursions. They much respected me,  
and esteemed me as a very entertaining compa-  
nion; as I could now, with a ready familiarity of  
language, amuse them with tales and descriptions  
of European customs, inventions, and events; and  
understand their remarks and tales in answer. I  
had it now in my power also to entertain large par-  
ties in return, and had learned to join in their  
amusements with too great facility and pleasure.

I took pains also to endear myself to the chiefs  
by timing my presents, and presenting them in the  
most approved and acceptable manner. My abbee  
being in a high state of cultivation, in the scarcest  
seasons abounded with fruits, and probably it would  
have been a chief source of supply to Mulkaamair.

175 When scarcity desolated the country around, ripe  
777 plantains lended the branches of my trees, of which  
123 I would cut twenty branches and send them as a  
491 present to Mulkaamair, borne on the shoulders of  
402 forty men. This was the etiquette of Tonga: the

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941  
 OU9 Tonga OU9  
 Vavau  
 Pangai

PANGAI: A VILLAGE IN TONGA

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caught when wild-eyed, shrieking children are allowed to hunt them down. 231  
 (857)

There are a few dogs and a few cats in the village. The villager however, shows little interest in animals that are neither a potential source of food nor of value in lightening the burden of work.

There is no snaring of wild birds nor any attempt to make wild birds a part of the dietary. Flying-foxes are abundant on the higher cliffs of the island. Only one man in the village, a native of Niuafu'ou, shows any interest in these as an article of food. He occasionally traps them by knocking them with a pole into a net. None of the villagers has bothered to learn the technique. Part of the reason for this may lie in the fact that in ancient Tonga the flying-fox was one of the animals sacred to the Tongan deities. Possibly there has been a survival of this *tapu* attitude toward the flying-fox even though the villager is not aware of the reason for this attitude. 224  
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 (223)  
 (825)  
 (776)  
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ECONOMIC EDUCATION

The growing child is inducted into the economic activities of the group very gradually and without many tears. He or she takes on economic duties according to the strength and skill at the moment. Thus, the six year old girl can start a fire and wash a few clothes though she will as yet make no attempt at cooking. The eight or nine year old boy is already being sent independently to the bush plantation to bring back food and firewood. By this age he is certainly capable of rendering assistance to the household in agricultural work. How much assistance he does render depends largely on the make-up of the household (on the number, that is, of able-bodied adult men in the group) and his ability to disappear with a gang of playmates whenever he senses his services may be in demand. A girl of twelve is already a good cook and housekeeper although she will not yet have learned to make mats. She will begin to learn mat-making techniques between the ages of twelve and sixteen, depending upon the interest of the mother as well as of the girl herself and her industriousness. She will have learned already the techniques of beating out bark cloth though the skills involved in stencilling such cloth and preparing the 868

PANGAI: A VILLAGE IN TONGA

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sleepy during the day. Instead of working in his garden, the addict spends his daylight hours asleep. Poverty and a lack of food are characteristic of his household. Those who are recognized as the hardest workers in the village are conspicuously those who rarely drink *kava* in the evenings or who are content with two or three rounds only of *kava* before going to sleep.

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Domestic trouble arises because the drinker generally deserts his household to drink elsewhere. This is illustrated by the case of the heaviest drinker in the village. He drinks *kava* several times daily. His own house is small and unsuitable for *kava*-parties. It is also very close to the bush that encircles the village and close therefore to the numerous and malevolent evil spirits (*tevolo*) that haunt the bush after nightfall. This makes the house a dangerous place in which to leave a wife and small children without adult male protection. Hence the addict's wife is continually angry because of this desertion. There have been frequent domestic brawls and the wife has occasionally deserted her husband. Moreover, this addict rarely works in his gardens. He leaves gardening to his aged father who is recognized as definitely "queer" by the villagers (the father shuns company, is given to long solitary walks, talks softly to himself: the very antithesis of the sociability-loving Tongan). Much of the money the addict obtains from his school-teaching he spends buying *kava*-root at the store. Thus the household is poor in every respect.

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This addict is an extreme case of *kava*-craving. Village opinion does not of course consider the fact that he may have become an addict because of certain personality difficulties which have of themselves made his domestic life unsatisfactory. This would be a somewhat sophisticated view for the villager to try to comprehend. Hence he simply takes it for granted that excessive *kava*-drinking is the cause of all troubles. His conviction is perhaps rendered more certain by noticing the results when some of the more daring young men have emptied a bottle of whisky into a full *kava* bowl and then swallowed the resulting concoction. (There are very stringent, enforced laws against drinking the white man's liquor or beer—only very occasionally could this happen.)

68 HOW I BECAME A PRIVY COUNCILLOR.

645 aining himself outside, I poured the vials of my wrath, and asked what *telefaa* meant.

"Having no covering—naked," he answered; "but why do you ask?"

"Because," I replied savagely, "since you did not stay to interpret for me as you promised, I have told the king that the New Guinea people go about naked, which is not true." Fatafehi laughed his hereditary laugh.

643 At ten o'clock we went down to meet the king in  
645 Council, followed by Mataka with his shorthand note-book and the Council minutes. As we went in the king took his place before a large Tongan Bible at the head of the table. Fatafehi and Tukuaho had moved to their seats, and I was on the point of taking mine when the king caught sight of me. My back was to the light and my face in shadow. He peered at me and said, "Who is this *papalagi* (foreigner) who comes to our Council?"

Tukuaho said, "It is he of whom I told your Majesty.<sup>1</sup> He who has come to help us, and make things plain."

"We have sent one foreigner away," said the king, "and you bring another: I thought that the Council was to be for ourselves."

This was a facer: without being in the Privy Council I should be utterly powerless, quite apart from the loss of prestige that such a rebuff would entail if it got abroad.

[192] <sup>1</sup> "Hoo Afo" is an exact equivalent for your Majesty, and the words are  
[195] used in precisely the same connection. In former times they were ad-  
[774] dressed to the Tui Tonga only. In speaking of the king to a third person, "Enc Afo" (his Majesty) is said. Besides these words a number of special words for the verbs of sensation are used in speaking of, or to, the king or the Deity.

272 LORDS AND COMMONS IN COUNCIL.

646 Premier to implore him to reflect before committing him-  
836 self to an innovation that would not only destroy the  
625 traditions of the "Force," but would also without doubt  
684 call down upon his country the divine wrath. At  
Tukuaho's desire I had consented to shelve the question  
until the meeting of Parliament, lest ill-conditioned per-  
646 sons might misrepresent our motives to the king. I was  
671 therefore prepared for opposition, but having the support  
836 of the Cabinet, I was determined to relieve the police  
684 of this part of their duties, and to sacrifice the prison  
625 labourers and the revenue in fines with which these pro-  
secutions annually provided the Government. The pro-  
posal evoked a passionate debate. Vili Tai opposed the  
measure in a burst of fiery oratory. He fully believed  
that it may suit Britain or France to regard flirting as an  
offence against the individual, but in Tonga, at least, it  
646 is a crime against the State. For have not the Tongans  
671 solemnly dedicated their country to God? Pointing to the  
836 royal arms blazoned above the daïs, he cried, "What other  
684 nation has the right to that motto, 'God and Tonga are  
776 my inheritance'? If you quote what is done in Bilitania,  
I will quote you the motto of the nation." There was a  
murmur of applause. It was in vain to point out that a  
restriction of the functions of the police is not in itself  
likely to call down the divine wrath. The reservoir of  
Tongan eloquence had burst its banks, and cold common-  
sense could never stem the flood. Another enthusiast  
fixed a rapt and inspired gaze on the ceiling, and de-  
manded whether the House would dare to break its  
faith with the Almighty. "It may be true that under  
our present laws our country is becoming depopulated,

## THE GREAT DEBATE ON FLIRTING. 273

but better we should perish from the face of the earth than break our solemn covenant with God." William Maecaliuaki, who generally talks sense, reminds the House that thirteen years ago a similar measure was passed, and that within three months an epidemic attacked the people, but when the measure was repealed the sickness abated. He only mentions the fact without drawing any deduction, except that there is room for belief that the Almighty *does* expect higher things from Tonga than from other countries. A personal element is imported by one of the Nobles, who remarks that the law would be entirely unnecessary if it were not for the professional bachelors, such as Moengan-gongo, Kubu's brother, and Matealona, and half-a-dozen others who sat among them. These unfortunates, having no defence ready to meet this unprovoked attack, look foolish. A fortnight after the session Moengaugongo espoused the ox-eyed waitress Sau, but whether in consequence of this public attack, or the young lady's charming poses in the windows of the dining-room, has not as yet transpired. Forced against our will to play the unwelcome part of "devil's advocate," we at last applied the closure, and the votes were taken. Two of the Ministry, Sateki and Kubu, voted against us. I was about to explain to Kubu that one of the principles of party government was that the members of the Cabinet should act in concert, and that, as he had promised to vote for this measure, his attitude required explanation; but he forestalled me by saying that during the debate his *konisienisi* (conscience) had met him face to face, and that therefore the terms of his oath compelled him to desert his



294 A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA.

173 Uvea,<sup>1</sup> from Futuna,<sup>2</sup> and even from Haamoa<sup>3</sup> and the far  
175 islands to the North.<sup>4</sup> No man knows whence he derived  
643 his power, unless indeed he was a descendant of the gods  
[648] themselves, of Tangaloa, of Ikuleo, and of Mau'i, but this  
[651] is hidden in the clouds of the ages. The people of  
[776] Tonga were so thick in the land that the commands of  
[203] the king were carried from one end of the land to the  
other, the people lying on their mats and shouting the  
[203] message one to the other. It was the time of "*Fanogonogo  
Tokoto*" (making proclamation when reclining).<sup>5</sup> And  
173 seeing that all men were his slaves, and that the world  
175 held none that did not do him homage, the Tui Tonga put  
643 heavy burdens upon the people, and made them drag great  
466 stones and set them up for a memorial of his greatness;  
349 and the people neglected their yam plantations to do the  
tasks set them by their king, so that there was a great  
scarcity. And when they hungered they began to cry  
out against their king, for men are ever hard to govern  
when their bellies are empty.

173 Now there came a Tui Tonga, named Takalaua, who  
175 was strong and harsh, and was greatly feared of the  
643 people. Every day he sent out his fishermen from Mua  
[224] into the bay, and they would land on the islands to  
arrange their nets. One day they landed on Ata, near  
Euaiki, and when they sailed the two old people who

<sup>1</sup> Wallis Island.

<sup>2</sup> Samoa.

<sup>3</sup> Hoorn Island.

<sup>4</sup> Gilbert Islands.

[361] <sup>5</sup> At the time of Tasman's visit in 1643 there seem to have been no  
[311] villages. The land was highly cultivated and fenced, and each family  
[161] lived in its own plantation. It is more probable that the *Fanogonogo  
Tokoto* referred to this than that the population was ever much greater  
than at present.

173 pursued, they launched forth upon the ocean, and sailed  
175 to Niua-tobutabu, and thence before the wind to distant  
643 Niua-foon; but even thither did Kau-ulu-fonua pursue  
682 them. And they fled northward again to Haamoa, whose  
103 ancient name was Hahafakamoa,<sup>1</sup> and were driven out  
from thence. Then they put forth again, and fled to  
[823] Uvea, and still they were pursued. So they fled west-  
ward to Futana; and because this was the end of the  
world, and there was no land beyond them to which they  
might flee, they awaited the coming of Kau-ulu-fonua and  
his brothers with the remnant of their army.

And when he landed, he prepared his men for war, and  
173 the men of Futuna, marvelling at his prowess, said, "Thou  
175 art not brave of thyself, but by favour of the gods." And  
643 he mocked them, and cried, "Then I will leave my back to  
682 the gods to defend, and myself defend my face." And as  
776 he was attacking the gate of the wall which his father's  
murderers had built, one of them wounded him in the  
back as he was passing through the gate. Thereat he  
cried, "The gods are fools: they cannot even shield my  
173 back." And he seized the old man who had wounded  
175 him, and held him until his men came up; and they took  
643 the town, and bound both the murderers, and brought  
682 them before him, and there was peace. Therefore to this  
day are there two divisions of Futuna—the one Futuna,  
and the other Futuna Tini because it was left unharmed  
[648] by the war. And Kau-ulu-fonua told the people of  
Futuna that, as a reward to them for having helped him  
to seize his father's murderers, he would grant that they  
should always spoil the Tongan canoes that reached their

<sup>1</sup> Hahafakamoa = beating like a cock's wings.

## 338 A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA. [1808.

175 but they would only consent to listen to him on the  
 669 condition that he would cut off all communication with  
 634 Haapai. He therefore returned to Haapai and embarked  
 787 his forces, about 5000 men and 1000 women, in fifty war-  
 701 canoes, with four carronades and ammunition. The siege  
 501 lasted many months, and the garrison only submitted in  
 713 obedience to the gods, and after imposing conditions upon  
 725 their assailants to take no revenge upon any of them.  
 787 These conditions were not observed. Finau heard, or pre-  
 175 tended that he had heard, of a plot upon his life. Several  
 669 of the leading chiefs were seized at his kava-party, bound,  
 634 and summarily despatched; but eighteen were reserved for  
 727 the more signal punishment of being turned adrift in leaky  
 canoes. On their way to the open sea they implored their  
 executioners to knock out their brains instead of consigning  
 them to the slow and ignominious death of drowning, and  
 the request was granted in twelve cases. The other six,  
 all chiefs of high rank, were turned adrift, and died regret-  
 ting their foolishness in trusting to the honour of Finau.

175 In Finau's mind there was a growing scepticism regard-  
 634 ing the religion of his ancestors. He was now in the  
 771 zenith of his prosperity, and he had never deserved well  
 776 of the gods by submission to their will, or by regularity  
 643 in his offerings. To him the institution of a Tui Tonga  
 seemed a useless tax upon the people—a worn-out cult, a  
 782 mere survival of the superstition of a darker age. He  
 643 was proposing seriously to abolish the *inaji*, the great  
 annual presentation of food to the Tui Tonga, which, in the  
 famine that had succeeded the war, was very difficult to  
 175 provide, when a great misfortune fell upon him. His  
 634 daughter, after a long illness, died. While there was  
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THE REVOLUTION.

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still hope he humbled himself before the deities he had slighted, and implored them to visit his sins on his own head rather than upon hers; but the inspired priest answered that her death was required as an atonement for his continued neglect, and that a severer punishment was in store for him. As soon as the first paroxysms of grief were passed he determined on the most impious revenge he could devise—namely, to kill the priest of his god, Tubou Toutai. He had actually sent for a rope with which to bind him when he was seized with sudden illness. It was in vain that one of his children was strangled to appease the gods: in twenty-four hours he was dead. But the evil he had wrought in

Tonga could not end with his life. He had found his country in peace and plenty, he left it torn by famine and civil war, having in his short life caused more bloodshed and human suffering than the aggregate in the whole of Tongan history before his time. A contemporary writer thus sums up his character: "A char-



*Finan Ulakalala, the rebel, after Labillardière.*  
 (From an engraving in the British Museum.)

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KING GEORGE

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the priestess of Haehaetahi, and beat the unfortunate woman, challenging her god to avenge the insult; they hanged five idols by the neck, and burned the spirit-houses, to convince the people by ocular demonstration that infringement of the *tabu* had no penalties. <sup>175 634 797 798</sup>

In 1827 Captain d'Urville in the *Astrolabe* anchored at Pangaimotu,<sup>1</sup> and was attacked by a party of natives, who carried off with them one of his marines. Not being disposed to land, or apply to the local authorities, and knowing the evil character the people had earned in their attempts to take ships, he bombarded the island for two days without doing serious damage. Later in the year Peter Dillon, on his way to find the remains of de la Perouse's ill-fated expedition at Vanikoro, put in for a few days to secure interpreters. <sup>175 177 609</sup>

Finau Ulukalala III. (Tuabaji, *alias* Finau Fiji<sup>2</sup>), who now held independent sway over Vavau, following Tau-faahau's example, had also written for a missionary; but his motive proved to be that of mere curiosity, and he soon cast off his new professions. In April 1831 Tau-faahau visited Vavau with twenty-four sail of canoes, on political business, and took that opportunity for attempting the conversion of his eccentric neighbour. It was a hard task, and he found it necessary to sail back to Haapai unattended to ascertain from the missionary whether it would be safe to promise Finau a missionary if he would consent to renounce his gods. Satisfied upon this point, he returned to the attack. Being before all things practical, Finau determined to give his fathers' gods one last chance before finally <sup>175 634 797 798</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Near Nukualofa.

<sup>2</sup> Described by Mariner.

348 A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA. [1832.

175 breaking with them. He had seven of the principal  
634 idols placed in a row, and addressed them as follows:  
797 "I have brought you here to prove you, and I will tell  
776 you beforehand what I am going to do, so that you may  
778 have no excuse. I am going to burn you. If you be  
gods, escape!" But as the idols made no attempt to  
escape, he gave orders that the spirit-houses should be  
set on fire. Eighteen were thus destroyed; but the  
weather being damp, they took four days to consume,  
and the people sat by terrified, waiting for the retribu-  
tion that must follow such iniquity.

175 Meanwhile Finau's brother prepared to oppose the new  
634 faith by force of arms. After plundering the outlying  
797 villages of Vavau, he intrenched himself on an uninhabited  
578 island. Finau called upon Taufaahau to help him out of  
the difficulty brought about by following his advice. At  
the head of a strong party of Haapai warriors he landed  
on the island, and tried his powers of persuasion upon the  
hostile force. Besides his physical prowess Taufaahau  
possessed another gift that appeals most powerfully to  
primitive man -- eloquence. Often when his men were  
jaded, hungry, and dispirited, a few words from him would  
turn their thoughts from their own sufferings to the glory  
to be won by fiery courage and the shame of failure.  
"When Tubou spoke like that," said one of his chiefs,  
"the warriors would not wait to hear the end, but rushed  
upon the enemy and bore them down."

While the enemy still hesitated he prepared for the at-  
tack, but they did not await his onset. They threw open  
the rude gateway and sued for peace. No blood was shed,  
but the leader was banished to Fiji, and a number of his



## NOTES ON TONGAN RELIGION.

By E. E. V. COLLOCOTT.

### PART I.

773 THE Tongans, in common with other Polynesian peoples, have a fairly elaborate theogony, narrating the birth of great gods of Sky, Earth, Sea, and Underworld; who are in their turn, in varying degree, responsible for Tonga and the adjacent island groups, i.e., the known world. In the beginning there seem to have existed the sea and the spirit-world, Bulotu. In this primordial ocean sea-weed and soil came together and floated away to Bulotu, but thereafter separated. Between them appeared a rock called Touia-a-Futuna, of which were born four pairs of twins, male and female, named respectively Biki (Sticky, Adhesive) and Kele (Soil); Atungaki (Thrown by the hand) and Maimon-a-Longona (Plaything of Longona); Fonu-uta (Land Turtle) and Fonu-vai (Sea Turtle); and Hemoana (Sea Wanderer) and Lube (Dove). Hemoana is a well-known deity found in the sea-snake (*tuku-hali*) of whose origin another account is also given, associating him more particularly with the island of Eua. This will be referred to subsequently. Each pair of twins, with the exception of Hemoana and Lube, married within itself, and begot progeny. The first child of Biki and Kele was a son, Tanfulifonua (Oversetter of Lands, or War the Oversetter of Lands), followed later by a daughter, Havea-lolo-fonua (Havea of the Underworld). The second and third pair of twins begot each a daughter, named respectively Vele-lahi (Great Desire?) and Vele-jii (Little Desire?). At this point in the story intervenes the creation by unrecorded means of a land Tonga-mamao (Distant Tonga), by Biki and Kele as a home for their two children, Tanfulifonua and Havea-lolofonua, to whom was born the important deity Hikuleo (probably Echo). Tradition is not quite certain as to whether Hikuleo were a god or goddess, but the general suffrage seems in favour of the female sex. The two other females of this generation, Vele-lahi and Vele-jii, were also mated with Tanfulifonua, and became the mothers respectively of Tangaloo and Mani. Tongan tradition speaks of four Tangaloo, namely, Tama-bouli-alamafou (Child of the Dark when Dawn is near), Eitumatubua, Tangaloo-tufunga (Tangaloo the Craftsman) and Tangaloo Atulongolongo.

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Tangaloa the Craftsman would seem to be the especially representative type, as Tangaloa was the god of carpenters, who before eating used to throw a small piece upwards, saying, "for Tangaloa." The plover is sacred to him, that being the shape in which he visited earth, Tangaloa Atulongolongo being the member of the family spoken of as paying such visits.

The Maui, too, are regarded as a group rather than as a single god. The stories mention Maui-loa (Long Maui), Maui Buku (Short Maui), and Maui Atalanga, who is the father of Maui Kijikiji, the most famous of the Maui, noted for his mischievous disposition, for his immense strength, and for the priceless boon he bestowed on mortals in stealing fire from the Underworld and bringing it up to earth. His father Atalanga, too, performed the signal service of thrusting the sky up high above the earth. Previously men had to go on all fours like the beasts, but as the price of a drink of water which he begged from a woman in Vavau he raised the sky to its present elevation. Atalanga is associated with Kijikiji, but always in a subordinate role, in a number of exploits which rid the world of certain dangerous animals and plants, especially notable being the great man-eating dog of Fiji. This feat is also credited to the hero Muni of the Torn-eye. Muni's mother was thrown into the sea before his birth, and the child was cast ashore on the island of Lofanga in Haapai, where a plover pecked at his eye as he lay on the beach. Hence the sobriquet of Torn-eye. In the case of both Maui's and Muni's adventure with the man-eating dog, the hero slays the monster and then dies himself; Maui in grief that the beast had devoured his father, and Muni because this fate had overtaken his devoted Fijian henchman. The bones of the Maui, father and son, became the father, by a Fijian woman, Sinailele, of a still mightier hero, Tui-motuliki, who came to Tonga, and was the progenitor of a line of gentry in attendance on the Tui Tonga. Legend mentions also another Maui, Maui Motua (Old Maui), who appears as the father of Maui Atalanga, and the guardian of the fire stolen by Kijikiji from the Underworld.

Between Hikuleo, Tangaloa, and Maui were divided Bulotu, Sky, and Underworld. Hikuleo received as her portion Bulotu (the Polynesian Paradise), abode of the souls of chiefs and great people. To Tangaloa was assigned the Sky, and to Maui the Underworld. To the fourth pair of the original twins, Hemoana and Lube, were given the Sea and the Land and Forests. Hikulea was bound by a great cord, one end being held by the Tangaloa in the sky, and the other by the Maui in the Underworld. The earth would have been destroyed by a visit from her, hence the precautions to keep her at home.

Especially connected with the Tangaloa is the plover, and embodied in this bird one of them was wont to visit the earth. His visits commenced before the creation of the islands known to the Tongans.

77B In the Tongan Group the islands of Ata and Eua, and probably Euaiki  
 82B (Little Eua) were first created. Eua was formed by Tangaloa, the  
 craftsman, pouring down into the sea the scraps from his work-shop.  
 At about the same time as this truly magnificent use was being made  
 of the shavings from the bench of the craftsman god, Ata slowly made  
 its appearance above the sea. On Ata were born the first men, three  
 in number, formed from a worm bred by a rotten plant, whose seed  
 was brought by Tangaloa from heaven. These three were afterwards  
 provided by the Maui with wives from the Underworld. The well-  
 known fishing expedition of the Maui hauled to the surface many of  
 the remaining islands known to the early Tongans.

77B Later Maui Atalanga and Maui Kijikiji came up from the Under-  
 world and settled at Koloa in Vavan, where a temple of Maui stood up  
 to the time of the introduction of Christianity. Tradition is not quite  
 consistent at this point. Atalanga married a woman of Vavan, whom  
 one account represents as the mother of Kijikiji, who yet is regarded  
 in other accounts, probably the most usual and authoritative, as having  
 been a member of the expedition which fished up Vavan, and various  
 other parts of Tonga, Samoa and Fiji. The whole question of  
 the position of the Vavan of myth has an interest and difficulty not  
 unlike that attaching to the Hawaiki series of place-names. Tregear,  
 in his "Maori Comparative Dictionary," says (s.v., Wawan), "There  
 is reason for thinking that Vavan in the Friendly Islands is not the  
 mythological Vavan or Wawan; the name has been localised anew  
 all over the Pacific." It is uncertain whether there will be ever  
 complete enough information to make definite statement possible.

794 In spite of the widespread recognition of these major deities the  
 practical affairs of life apparently did not so much compel resort to  
 them as to a number of gods whose cults were in some cases nation-  
 wide, and in others confined to different localities, or more strictly to  
 565 various groups of people. The greater cults are always especially  
 [794] associated with chiefs and great gentlemen attendants of chiefs, who  
 are their people's representatives before the gods as in more mundane  
 [771] affairs. In fact the deference and observances paid to the chiefs, and  
 [643] particularly to the Tui Tonga, would seem to be a very practical part  
 [781] of the ordinary man's religion. The attribute of chiefiness, of which  
 [776] the Tui Tonga was the human fountain-head, was essentially a thing  
 sacred and of those things which men regard with religious awe.  
 Chiefiness is, in its origin, a gift of the gods, Ahoeitu, the first Tui  
 Tonga, being the son of Eitumatubua, the Lord of Heaven, and a  
 human mother. Although the gods of which one hears were  
 [776] worshipped by chiefs and larger or smaller groups, this does not mean  
 [778] apparently that almost any object might not be adopted as sacred by  
 a man and his household. There is a gradation in the divine hierarchy

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from gods of populous tribes down to deities the private possession of a very few. Naturally, the gods of which one is best able to glean information are those whose devotees were fairly numerous. At the best all that we can get to-day is probably only a glimpse at the old pantheon. But this remnant is doubtless typical, and furnishes a fair idea of the beliefs of old Tonga, as well as interesting parallels with other parts of Polynesia.

The apparatus of worship consisted of a temple, apparently in some instances situated amongst trees just outside the village. Too much must not be made of this, however, as the villages which one sees to-day are of modern growth, and in earlier days the population was more scattered. There was at least one sacred grove. In the temples were kept sacred objects, such as war weapons, stones, pieces of wood, more or less roughly carved, and often painted with yellow turmeric. Several fine mats were indispensable, carefully preserved to be spread for the reception of the visiting god in the same way as a household brings out its good mats for a distinguished mortal visitor. At times of worship these mats were spread, and the priest sat either on or beside them, whilst the sacred objects of the temple were displayed on the mats, particularly, if possible, the animal or what not which was specially sacred to the god to whom the appeal was being made. The role of the totem was to act as a vehicle whereby the god might bring himself into physical relation with the material surroundings of human life. The Tongan words used to express the presence of the god in the object sacred to him signifies his "coming in" it, or "using it as a boat." These material objects are seldom, most probably never, the god himself. This, however, is by now so much a commonplace as scarcely to need restatement in the case of any particular people. Not less was the god actually present in the inspired priest. Evidently there were others outside of the regular priesthoods who were liable to inspirations. To the present day some forms of sickness are believed to be due to demonic possession. So far as my personal observation in Tonga goes possession seems now to be always maleficent, but a native connected by blood with Fiji affirms that in that group there are exemplary and devout Christians who receive helpful accessions of divine influence from sources not usually included in any scheme of orthodox theology.

There were priests or priestesses connected with the various cults, who acted as the mouthpieces of the gods, and whose frenzied inspiration seems to have been the really important part of the divine manifestation. There are asserted to have been deities without any sacred animal or other object, but the accuracy of this statement is doubtful. The trembling body, foaming mouth, and wild eyes of

a visit to a shrine commenced, the ceremony was a presentation to the god, and the priest, as his representative and vehicle, had the precedence. *Kara* is commonly drunk out of coconut-shell cups, but visitors to the gods were wont, apparently, to use cups of folded banana leaf. These are obviously more ceremonious than the coconut-shells, as they were used in 1918 at the important native ceremony in connection with the installation of the present Queen. I obtained possession of several of the cups used on that occasion, but unfortunately banana leaves are not very durable, and they have long been reduced to pieces of dried leaf, amongst which destructive insects have begun their work. 782 276 782 276 415

In passing it may be remarked in connection with *kara* that personal experience in Tonga has shown me nothing to justify the epithet "intoxicating" so often applied to this root. *Kara* drinking prolonged far into the night produces a very dull Tongan next morning, but bad hours would be enough in itself to account for at least a good deal of the drowsiness, and if there be a residuum directly caused by the absorption of large quantities of *kara*, as is quite probable, it does not seem rightly stigmatised as intoxication. Excessive tobacco smoking would produce much the same effect, as indeed would excess of almost any kind. Seeing how widely the *kara* is termed intoxicating by competent observers in other groups, I can only suppose that the suggestion which I have heard put forward, that the Tongans drink the root in a more advanced stage of maturity than the peoples of some other islands may be correct, and that the green root has more pronounced effects. 276

The priest, then, duly primed with the cheerful cup, and with the tangible evidence before him that the god's hunger will be satisfactorily appeased, proceeds to work himself into a condition suitable for the reception of deity. There are living to-day representatives of an old priestly family, of a highly strung nervous disposition, exhibiting in all probability characteristics that caused their forebears to be revered as channels of divine communication. A present-day member of the family has distinguished himself by intrepid and successful missionary pioneering in the Solomon Islands. 793 787 [157] [187]

The worshippers usually resort to the gods for information concerning risky undertakings, such as war, and for deliverance, or protection, from the disasters that commonly afflict our life, such as sickness or bad seasons, caused by drought or hurricane. There seems to have been no special god of war, but for guidance in this important undertaking each tribe referred to its own god, the indications of the god's pleasure being given in some instances at least by movements of the clubs or other war weapons with which the shrine was provided. If the weapon from which the auguries were sought refused to budge that was an indication of the god's desire for peace. 721 787 [776]



753 Sickness was regarded as a sign of divine disfavour, as it frequently  
 784 is to-day. Christianisation has to a certain extent meant the shifting  
 [747] of old conceptions to a new set of supernatural beings. Some illnesses  
 [755] are regarded as possession by a maleficent sprite, who can be massaged  
 [776] and pummelled out of the system by a skilled practitioner. Of the old  
 gods some had their specialities, much as mortals have, though the  
 range of functions was generally very wide.

Often, especially in prayers for the healing of sickness, bodily  
 mutilation was resorted to as a sacrifice, and in extreme instances a  
 782 victim was slain. Mariner describes the sacrifice of a little girl in  
 755 the hope that the god would be pleased to restore the great Vavau  
 chief Finau to health. There is still living a man whose mother saw,  
 and described to him, the strangling of a man as an offering to the  
 important god Bulotu Katoa to ensure the recovery of a great Tui  
 Haatakalanua chief. The victim, with his two executioners, got under a  
 large piece of native cloth, which was held down by people standing  
 on the edges. The unfortunate man was strangled and then taken to  
 Bulotu Katoa's shrine, and two days later the chief on whose behalf  
 all this trouble was taken breathed his last. There was a similarly  
 unsatisfactory ending to Mariner's story of human sacrifice. One  
 informant tells me, in reference to such sacrifice to the god Toko-i-  
 Moana, that the persons expected to mutilate their little fingers were  
 [601] the family of the brothers of the sick person's mother. (Such terms  
 as brother and mother are misleading if understood in the English  
 sense. For instance, mother and mother's sister, including certain  
 female cousins, are all called by the same term, and the system is  
 followed through to its furthest discoverable limits). I have no doubt  
 that these were the persons generally expected to undergo this  
 altruistic operation, as they represent the branch of the family over  
 782 which one enjoys superiority. I am told that amongst an earlier  
 755 generation of Tongans it was comparatively rare to find anyone who  
 178 lived a long life with both little fingers intact. There is still living an  
 old gentleman who has lost in this way the top joint of his right-hand  
 little finger. But he is now a curiosity, so much so that one can  
 hardly begin talking to a native to-day on those topics without  
 presently seeing him lift up his right hand and start truculently  
 feeling his little finger with his left hand. All the while you see in  
 his face the eager expression of a man who has something he wishes  
 to ease his mind of, and at the first opening comes the inevitable  
 query, "Do you know so-and-so?" As I happen to know the old  
 gentleman fairly well, and have shaken the mutilated hand, the  
 sacrificial digit has lost something of its novelty. However, the  
 owner of the finger is far advanced in life, and in the ordinary course  
 of nature it cannot be very many years before this, one of the few  
 remaining links with the old order, will be beyond the possibility of  
 observation.



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From my conversations with the Tongans I am not quite sure where the votaries and the priests sat during consultation of a god, but think that the people would sit round at a respectable distance on the green sward in front of the temple, and the priests would sit either just within or without the doorway. Descriptions seem to point to some such arrangement as this, and it is rendered almost certain by its thorough agreement with universal custom in the paying of a ceremonial visit to an important chief. It is hardly necessary to add that all references to the gods were couched in the most deferential language, terms being employed which were applied to the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha alone amongst mortals, though used now of the constitutional king. Such words are naturally used to-day of the Deity in Christian worship. [198]

Another common mark of deference in approaching a superior is the wearing of a mat about the waist, girt on with a cinnet-rope belt. This addition to the dress, called a *taotala*, is universally worn at the *fono*, or assemblies where the people are gathered together to hear the will of their chiefs, or of the government, or when approaching a great chief, especially to ask a favour. It is also worn at funerals. Undoubtedly it was worn by the people approaching one of the ancient gods. A mark of still deeper humility is a wreath of the leaves of the *ifi* (*Inocarpus edulis*, Tahitian chestnut) round the neck. This badge of deference was used, for example, by supplicants suing for their lives. To sit with the head bowed, and these leaves round the neck, was the strongest possible expression of humility and entreaty. Whether it were a common adjunct or not of worship I do not know, but it would seem highly probable that it was employed at all events on occasions of great stress. Mariner describes it as being worn on a certain occasion in entering a temple, but in this instance the wearers were pleading for their lives to a great chief.

Naturally the gods varied in power and influence. Some were resorted to by the whole nation; others were the gods of powerful chiefs and their tribes and clans, whilst others enjoyed a more limited prestige, their devotees being the little group of allied households which forms the usual social unit. There was nothing to prevent a man's setting up a tutelary deity of his own if he were so disposed. The number of the gods, moreover, was liable to constant augmentation by the deification of the illustrious or well-beloved dead. A notable instance is Fakailoatonga, a chief related to Finau, of Vavau. In his life-time Fakailoatonga was a famous warrior, and subdued, or at least over-ran, a large part of Tongatabu, "but he was a leper." For long he was ignorant of the nature of his malady, and his friends sedulously refrained from reference to it. But one day a companion told him the ghastly truth, and Fakailoatonga, in his disgust, buried himself alive. After his death he was elevated to the godstage. In the

771 period of which we have information totemism has given way to a  
 784 more highly developed polytheism, but there are indications that the  
 262 development was by way of totemism. There are the usual restrictions  
 [222] on the eating of the sacred animal, though some fish which enjoyed a  
 784 certain amount of sanctity were used for food by those in whose eyes  
 262 they were sacred. The whole question of fishing was edged about  
 [154] with *tabu*, the consideration of which would lead us too far afield  
 784 from the matter in hand. But I have not yet been able to positively  
 262 ascertain whether the species of a fish in which a god was actually  
 776 embodied was ever eaten by his devotees. For instance, there is  
 more than one shark deity, but I know of only one clan who refrained  
 from eating shark from religious motives. The two most famous  
 shark gods manifest themselves in sharks which are not used as food,  
 and, are in fact altogether exceptional, and probably purely mythical  
 fish. Putting aside a few fish, which, if not actually the vehicles of  
 gods, were at all events the subject of special *tabu*, the prohibition of  
 the eating of the sacred animal is general and clear. A highly  
 respected native minister of the Methodist Church informs me that to  
 this day he gets a headache if he eats the sacred animal of his clan,  
 though it is esteemed a delicacy by those who have the good fortune  
 to be exempted from the *tabu*, and probably most who are not.

773 There is an old story which is perhaps a fragment from an ancient  
 and forgotten body of lore in which the totem plays an important  
 part in the impregnation of the woman of his clan. The tale of the  
 birth of the lovely Vae, who became so beautiful that there was not  
 her equal in the whole of Tonga, relates that during her mother's  
 773 pregnancy the food for which she craved was the rail. The idiom  
 842 used to express such cravings of a pregnant woman might be  
 192 translated with strict accuracy, so far as the form of expression goes,  
 as the food by which she was pregnant, or had conceived. The  
 present day Tongan, however, uses the expression without any idea of  
 pregnancy having been caused by the object in question, but merely  
 as indicating the fastidious liking of a delicate woman for a special  
 773 food. The god of Vae's father was the dove, and before the mother  
 had given birth to her child the parents embarked on a voyage,  
 taking with them the dove god. On the way the expectant mother,  
 in her longing for her favourite dish, asked her husband for a rail.  
 He, rather exasperated at so unreasonable a request out at sea,  
 screwed the neck of his god and gave his wife a meal of dove. Being  
 compelled by stress of weather to put in at an island, the mother  
 there gave birth to her child, which to her disgust was marked on the  
 face by the dove's head. In her chagrin at this disfigurement she  
 abandoned the infant, a little girl, at the foot of a tree when the  
 voyage was resumed. The remainder of the story, telling of the  
 child's adoption by a couple on the island, the disappearing of the

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mark as she grew, and of the wonderful beauty which made her the wife of one Tui Tonga and the mother of another, does not concern our present purpose. It seems, too, that women became pregnant by bathing in a pond sacred to the god Tui Haafakafonua. 773

Tattooing has largely fallen into disuse amongst modern Tongans. Indeed some seem to be uncertain whether it be a thing of home growth, or an exotic introduced from Samoa, where it is still extensively practised. It is undoubtedly certain, however, that tattooing was common in Tonga at least a century ago. So far I have been able to find only one instance where the markings had a clear totem or religious significance, namely in the tattooing of the bird called the *kalae* (a rail) on the throat of the priest connected with his worship. Something more will be said later about the individual gods, but the people who held the *kalae* sacred were in the habit of tying together a bunch of these birds, and taking it about with them. Such a bunch of sacred birds was tattooed on the throat of the priest. In general the artists who performed the operation of tattooing chose their designs in accordance with their individual notions of beauty, and gained reputation by the artistry of their work. Although most of the gods had their sacred animal, or other object, it is not certain whether this was quite universal, there apparently being deities whose manifestation was merely through their priests; but a negative is ever hard to prove, and after hearing in one quarter that a particular god had no sacred animal one may later stumble on an informant able to supplement his previous information. There are also cases where it is remembered that a particular animal was sacred, but nobody seems to know to what god. However, from time to time there may come opportunities to rectify some at least of the gaps in the tradition. 304 [178] [177] 304 771 825 304 531 555 776 778 825 [793]

The best illustration of what I have been so far able to gather about the old Tongan deities can be given by setting forth what my informants have told me. These notes make no claim to completeness, and fuller information may supplement, or correct, much of what follows. It is, however, probably a fair sample, giving generally correct outlines of the native's outlook on his religion, however inadequate it may be in details. Unfortunately the time when reliable information can be gathered about many matters interesting to the student of primitive practices is fast slipping away. There are living to-day very few Tongans able to give a trustworthy and full account of any part of the older faith, and of those who, from motives of patriotism or intelligent curiosity, have been interested in hearing and remember what they could of their people's past, hardly one has himself witnessed anything of the ancient practices. Where possible both the names of the gods and of their sacred objects have been given, but there are instances in which one or the other has been forgotten by the Tongans with whom I have discussed these matters. 124

## II.—INDIVIDUAL GODS.

716 Bulotu Katoa. Bulotu was the Tongan Paradise. As already  
 [772] related its chief deity was Hikuleo, but it was the home also of spirits  
 [775] of the departed, evidently only of chiefs and great people, to whom  
 perhaps some sort of worship was paid. Sometimes one hears of a  
 [114] being called Tui Bulotu, i.e., King of Bulotu, but of him I have been  
 able to learn nothing. Mariner calls him a minor god of the sea and  
 of voyages, and protector of Finau's family. Tuivakano, the Premier  
 of Tonga, suggests that some of the gods mentioned by Mariner are  
 [775] really the illustrious dead. In spite of the name Tui Bulotu there  
 does not seem any reason to disturb the sovereignty of Hikuleo in  
 Bulotu, home of wondrous plenty, of the life-giving water, Vai-Ola,  
 Water of Life, into which the spirits of the dead seem to have been  
 dipped to restore them to life and the power of enjoying the delights  
 of their paradise, and of other marvels.

Bulotu Katoa, i.e., the whole of Bulotu, was the grandiloquent  
 name of a great deity whose principal shrine was at Boha, in the  
 [361] eastern part of Tongatabu. This eastern district, though not now the  
 seat of the capital, is the chiefly centre of the ancient polity, the  
 residence of the Tui Tonga, the Tui Huatakalauni, and other great  
 776 lords. To Bulotu Katoa the whole of Tonga resorted, the Tui Tonga  
 643 alone staying at home. I have heard him spoken of as the god of the  
 [782] great warrior chiefs, the Tui Kanokupolu, who in process of time and  
 change supervening on the coming of the European have displaced  
 the Tui Tonga, but the real position seems rather to have been that  
 whoever for the time being was most powerful, whether the Tui  
 Kanokupolu or another chief, took the lead in national supplication to  
 this great god, to avert the calamities of hurricane, drought, and  
 776 famine. As a matter of fact Kuku, a very ancient and blue-blooded  
 [565] chief, was most intimately associated with the worship of Bulotu  
 [115] Katoa, and two related chiefs, Tamale (the present holder of this title  
 has given me the best information about this and many other matters;  
 his repute as a depository of ancient lore is probably more widely  
 recognised than that of any living Tongan), and Ma'olo distributed  
 [742] the offerings brought to the god. The name of the priest was  
 [276] Takahi. When *kava* was presented to Bulotu Katoa the Tui  
 [574] Kanokupolu sat with the ring of outsiders at a distance from the *kava*  
 bowl and the leaders of the ceremony.

776 The dog was the sacred animal of this god, and during his worship  
 [782] a dog lay at the side of the priest. It was customary to use the word  
 [643] *kuli* (dog) in names of Nuku's family. There is a proverbial ex-  
 [776] pression pretty closely parallel to our English "Let sleeping dogs lie,"  
 825 which is said to have had its first application to the dog of Bulotu  
 [192] Katoa.

This was not the only god to whom offerings were made to ensure immunity from hurricane, but he seems to have had some especially close connection with the winds, as it is said that he has on occasion brought the people to cannibalism with his destructive hurricanes. A story is told of the heroic chief Takai, who was a match for his gusty majesty. Takai challenged Bulotu Katoa to a trial of strength, defying him to destroy a house which he should build. So the house was built strong and taut and the god invited to do his worst. Bulotu Katoa blew with all his might from the north. The house stood. The god veered round to the south. This was too much for Takai's workmanship, and the structure was demolished. Nothing daunted, Takai collected from all parts of the country beams of the hard wood called *ngaji*, and tried again. The god was invited to try his strength on this second building, but though he employed his greatest hurricanes it was in vain, for Takai's house withstood his every attempt. 776 821 [266] 779

It was to Bulotu Katoa that the man strangled under the piece of native cloth mentioned above was offered. This god is also brought into interesting connection with the murder of Tubou Niua by Tubou Toa, of which an eye-witness' account is preserved by Mariner. The two sons of Tubou Niua, Lasiki and Tubou Toutai, fled to Lakepa. In course of time Taufaaahau (afterwards King George Tubou I.), the son of Tubou Toa, paid a friendly visit to the sons of the man whom his father had slain. Lasiki and Tubou Toutai besought Bulotu Katoa to slay Taufaaahau, but the god replied that he was unable to do so, as the white man's God, whom Taufaaahau then worshipped, was too mighty for him. On this confession of impotence Lasiki and Tubou Toutai slew the priest of Bulotu Katoa, and became Christians. 776 [782] [661] [727] 776 [627] [797]

(To be continued.)

[pp. 164-226 not processed]



## NOTES ON TONGAN RELIGION.

By E. E. V. COLLOCOT.

## PART II.

**T**UI Haafakafonua. This god is identified with Moso in Samoa and Tutumatua in Fiji. His Tongan habitat was Maofanga, a village near Nukunolofa. When the native cults were still living Maofanga enjoyed the reputation of special sanctity. There was here a chiefly burial ground, and the house of refuge of Tui Haafakafonua was justly famous. Many, if not all, of the gods had evidently their places of sanctuary, but some were not able to afford much protection to the fugitive from vengeance; they were *tutulu*, literally, leaky, but others were not leaky, and once within their precincts the guilty man was safe. Of these non-leaky sanctuaries that of Tui Haafakafonua was one of the most famous. [776] [171] [776] [778] [764]

Fakafonua is the chief of Maofanga, and Haa-Fakafonua means the tribe or clan of Fakafonua. Tui Haa-Fakafonua means the king of the tribe of Fonua, the name suggesting a close connection with the tribal organisation. The sacred animal of this god was a lizard, and for the convenience of his departure, and presumably arrival, a tree or post was always provided for him to crawl along. A handy post or tree-stump was a regular part of his temple furnishings. At the end of a seance the priest clapped his hand on the post, and, evidently speaking as the god, said to the worshippers "Good-bye," and then evidently speaking as the priest to the god, again said "Good-bye," using a very high chiefly term. The people, too, using this same word, also bade the departing deity good-bye. In the native tongue of course these good-byes are very different terms as addressed to those who are going away or to those who are remaining. [776] [613] [776] [825] [776] [793] [781] [192]

It was the priest of this god whose inspiration Tamale witnessed as a boy. Tui Haa-Fakafonua used to appear in a pond in Maofanga, and was noted for his fondness for the ladies who used to become sick by bathing in the sacred water. It was this god to whom I referred previously as having heard that women became pregnant by bathing in his pond. Although this is not absolutely verified it seems a not unlikely detail. [776] [753] [842]

Mofuta-as-ta'u. This deity, whose name seems literally to mean the "Proud Boastfulness of the Season," was the god of Tamale, the chief of Niatoua, in Eastern Tongatabu, who was also intimately



776 connected with the wider worship of Bulotu Katoa. The sacred  
 [825] animal of Mofuta-ae-ta'u was a great sea-eel (Toke), who dwelt in  
 an opening of the reef opposite the village. This deity resented  
 anyone's appearance on the beach near his abode with the head bound  
 with a turban, or whitened with lime. Should anyone so disregard the  
 eel's feelings as thus to appear in the forbidden area he would be taken  
 off to the hole in the rock where the god lived. It is related of one  
 unlucky wight who so offended that he was born off by the enraged  
 god, but five days later, when his friends and relatives ashore had  
 finished celebrating his obsequies, he suddenly appeared amongst  
 them, not, however, his old, good-looking self, for the eel-god had  
 plucked every hair from his head.

A small fish called the *rete* was regarded as the girdle of Mafuta-  
 776 ae-ta'u, it being asserted that a shoal of *rete* surrounded the great eel  
 825 like a leaf-girdle. A similar statement is made about another fish  
 and one of the shark-gods, to be mentioned later. The eating of the  
 776 *rete* was not forbidden, but it was *tabu* for the chief Tamale to go down  
 825 to the beach on the days when it appeared. Should he neglect this  
 784 precaution of keeping out of the way (probably within doors) the *rete*  
 would disappear. Restrictions of this sort are not confined to Tamale.

[262] The father of the present Tamale adopted Christianity, and burnt  
 the temple of his god. Its furniture included fine mats, weapons of  
 776 war, and carefully wrought pieces of wood painted with tumeric.  
 [778] Probably this is a representative collection of temple treasures.

[778] Taufu is another god of the chiefly eastern end of Tongatabu,  
 776 associated particularly with the great Tui Hantakalana chief Tungi  
 649 and his family. The Tungi chieftainship is comparatively late, but  
 the title is now borne by the Tui Hantakalana, one of the oldest and  
 proudest names of the Tongan nobility. The special domain of Taufu  
 776 was a large district called Ahau, including several important modern  
 [103] villages, in the east of Tongatabu, but the name is more familiar now  
 as that of a village at the other end of the island. One of the most  
 776 widely used names of the hero-king, George Tubou I., Taufu-ahau, is  
 said to be derived from the name of this god and his district. In  
 649 childhood the king was cured of a serious illness by Taufu, and  
 551 thereafter bore the name Taufu-ahau. This name was previously  
 unknown in his family, but has since been perpetuated. Taufu had a  
 776 famous sanctuary. It is related that, during a time of war, Ninkapu,  
 778 a chief of very ancient lineage, fled from his foes and gained this  
 house of refuge. His enemies thereupon slew a man, and, with  
 [782] appropriate accompaniments, presented him as an offering to the god.  
 The priest Kautae, thinking it shame that a man who claimed  
 776 sanctuary with him should perish, slew his own daughter and gave  
 778 her to the waiting warriors, thus ransoming Ninkapu. Tamale, who  
 793 related this, spoke of Kautae as having given his own life to Ninkapu's

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foes, and it is said of priests that it is better that they themselves should die than that one who has taken refuge with them should perish. Niukapu in gratitude to his deliverer told Kautae to take his pick of a piece of land, but the priest instead asked Niukapu for his *kava*, which means that in *kava* ceremonies Kautae has the right to demand that the cup intended for Niukapu should be brought to him. This practice is not very uncommon. There is an old gentleman in the island of Haano, in Haapai, who, although not a chief himself, has the right to demand the *kava* of a considerable number of chiefs on the ground of their descent from his family.

Taufa is both a sea and a land god. In the sea he is manifested as the shark, and is called Taufa-tahi, i.e., Taufa of the Sea. On land he bore the name Taufu-uta, i.e., Taufu of the Land, but had no separate sacred animal. In fact, Taufu-tahi and Taufu-uta cannot be considered as two distinct manifestations of the god. Taufu was the god, his totem was the shark, and he had his shrines ashore in which he spoke through his priest. The name most commonly applied to him is Taufu-tahi. Taufu's shark seems to have been a mythical sea monster. Near Mua, the chief village in eastern Tongatapu, is a place in the sea, where it is asserted that on calm days white mounds, like the mounds heaped up over the graves of the dead, can be seen beneath the water. This spot is called Taufu's cemetery, and here the god, in the form of an exceedingly white shark, might be sometimes seen.

Taufu was a notable protector of gardens. To secure the services of the god the husbandman had simply to plait a coconut-leaf in the semblance of a shark, and hang it up in his plantation. This placed the garden under a *tabu* that none would dare to violate. It is said that after the introduction of Christianity a man had the hardihood to thrust his hand in mockery into one of these *tabu* signs; but the moribund deity was not to be insulted with impunity, and soon afterwards the sacrilegious violator, whilst bathing in the sea, had both his arms bitten off by a shark. It is interesting to notice that the priestly succession has been maintained to the present day, and a Kautae is still regularly appointed.

Talini Tubon is the god of the Tui Kanokupolu, whose title is now assumed by the constitutional ruler of Tonga. Even before the advent of Christianity real power was gradually passing out of the hands of the Tui Tonga into those of more active lords, notably the Tui Kanokupolu, who was in any case a very high chief. Tubon, the royal title of the Tui Kanokupolu appears in the name of the god. Kanokupolu is itself a small village in the west of Tongatapu, but the Tui Kanokupolu chieftainship has long been a much more important thing than king of this little village would seem to imply, but the real moment of the name Kanokupolu itself must doubtless be sought elsewhere. Kupolu

361 is a widely distributed Polynesian place name. As the capital of the  
 103 modern kingdom Nukualofa is of course the residence of the Tui  
 644 Kanokupolu; but the connection between this chieftainship and  
 Nukualofa is of longer standing than merely since the establishment of  
 Christianity. The ancient Nukualofa was much smaller than the  
 present town, which includes within its boundaries a number of family  
 groups who inhabited areas whose names and locations are still  
 known.

778 The sacred object of Taliai Tubou is a large black volcanic pebble,  
 roughly oval in shape, now in the possession of the Wesleyan College,  
 Nukualofa. This stone is called Tui Ahau, i.e., King of Ahau. Its  
 613 headquarters were probably Kolovai, the largest town in western  
 778 Tongatabu, and the home of Ata, the head of the Haa Ngata (Tribe of  
 Ngata), to which the Tui Kanokupolu belongs. Ahio was originally  
 the head of this tribe, but his influence waned by a process similar to  
 that by which the Tui Tonga's prestige diminished.

778 Besides the Tui Ahau in Nukualofa there is lying on the ground  
 in Kolovai another stone of the same kind, which enjoys a sort of twin  
 sanctity, and is reputed to possess the power, rather unusual in a stone,  
 of bringing forth little pebbles. The natives who led me to see the  
 stone narrated this curious circumstance with perfect gravity, but  
 search failed to reveal any of the fruits of petrine propagation.

These stones are of a sort not found on the coral islands of the  
 group, and were perhaps brought from one or other of the two  
 volcanic mountains in Huapai, Tofua and Kao.

Bekebek-a-Tama, a flying-fox god, belonging originally to Ula, a  
 776 *matavale* (minor chief, or rather, great gentleman-attendant of a chief)  
 825 of Ahau, a village near Kolovai, in western Tongatabu, but now  
 778 transferred to Ata of Kolovai. The actual god seems to be a purely  
 mythical flying-fox, whose appearance is an omen of disaster to Ata.  
 Bekebek-a-tama is distinguished from the rank and file of flying-foxes  
 (beka) by his white colour, but I know of no one who claims ever to  
 824 have seen him.\* In Kolovai are several casuarina trees on which the  
 825 flying-foxes are protected by a *tabu*, and which are covered with the  
 784 rather noisome little creatures. One or two great chiefs, however,  
 have the right of shooting them on the prohibited trees. If one falls  
 from the trees to the ground it is free of the *tabu*, and may be picked  
 up and taken away. Rumour avers that the modern small boy's awe  
 of the *tabu* is not sufficient to deter him from trying the effect of a  
 825 surreptitious missile. Should the flying-foxes desert their trees Ata  
 276 must make *kaa* for them and so entice them home again.

\* Ata has since told me that he has several times seen a white flying-fox,  
 most recently within the last two or three years.

Fakafumaka, or Vakafuhu, is the god of the village of Kanokupolu, already mentioned as giving his title to the Tui Kanokupolu. Formerly there stood here a tree beneath which the installation of the Tui Kanokupolu took place. A piece of wood from this tree has been used in the construction of the throne of the Tongan kings, being let in at the back of the royal seat, a symbol of the tree which once stood at the back of the Tui Kanokupolu during his installation ceremony.

The sacred animal of this god was a little shell-fish called the *fuhu*, but there is an obscure statement that he appeared sometimes as a man and sometimes as a rock. The appearance as a man is probably his declaring himself through the priest, but the meaning of his being a rock is not clear, though it is apparently closely connected with the *fuhu*.

An old song is still extant describing the voyage of Faka-fumaka and Tutula, accompanied by the goddess Fai or Fai-malie, to Bulotu. Fai is the real heroine of the piece, and distinguished herself not only by her coolness and good sense in the several difficulties and dangers in which they were involved during the voyage, but also by her voracious appetite in Bulotu, whence arises a proverbial expression meaning to lick the platter clean, which in Tongan is to "lick like Fai." Tongans, however, have no cause to regret her greediness, for, having swallowed a yam in Bulotu, she returned to Tonga and gave birth to a root that has been the progenitor of all the yams in these islands.

Haele-feke, literally "the Octopus comes," or "Coming in the Octopus," is a god which appeared in the octopus (*feke*). He is also called Tutula, already mentioned as the companion of Faimalie and Faka-fumaka in their journey to Bulotu. Haele-feke is the god of Motua-buaka (lit. Old Pig), an important *matapu* of the Tui Kanokupolu, and of Kioa, the head of a younger branch of the same clan. The clans of Motua-buaka and Kioa, inhabiting a cluster of villages in the western district of Tongatapu, refrained from eating the small octopus which is a favourite delicacy of the majority of Tongans.

The octopus god used to appear ashore in a pool called Kanakana. It is said that he changed into a lizard when travelling overland. When an octopus appeared in this pool it was at once recognised as the god, and the priestess immediately went and awaited him at the shrine, apparently a little raised platform, whither presently the people resorted with bunches of coconuts and plaited coconut leaves and earth. The priestess spoke as the octopus, and from words used by an informant would seem to have imitated an octopus, presumably sprawling out in the manner of this ungainly creature.

The people of this deity not only eschewed in their own diet the flesh of the octopus, but they must not approach a place where he was being eaten. If any transgressed the *tabu* he was afflicted with

complete baldness, which, however, could be cured by suitable supplications. Should any of the octopus people find one of their gods dead they gave him decent and ceremonious burial in Teekiū, their head village. With this god was connected the large cowrie shell (*bule*), from whose movements auguries were read. The connection perhaps arises from the use of the shell in octopus-fishing, or both facts have a common origin. A cowrie-shell forms the centre of the bait, which is furnished with artificial tentacles, and somewhat resembles an octopus. This on being lowered into the water is clasped by the octopus, who is then hauled up and taken.

Fono-ki-tangata, the god of the chief Vulu and his people in Utulan, in the central part of Tongatabu. The "*fono*" is the food served with *kava*, and "*fono ki tangata*" means to use human flesh in this way. When the *kava* was presented to the god a human sacrifice accompanied it.

Tui Fiji, literally king of Fiji, is the god of Haavakatolo, whose chief is Ahomeo, a village near the eastern boundary of the western part of Tongatabu. The sacred object of the Tui Fiji is the tree called *fehī* (*vesi* in Fiji), whose hard wood was a favourite with the makers of spears and canoes. This tree does not flourish in Tonga, but there are some specimens at Haavakatolo, and it is asserted that it is impossible to get it to grow elsewhere in the group. The *fehī*, or *vesi*, flourishes in Fiji.

Tradition records that on one occasion as the Haavakatolo people were about to fight a neighbouring folk Tui Fiji told them to place between themselves and their enemies a large lump of the food prepared by burying and fermenting certain fruits; in this case plantain. The warriors then each ate a piece of this food. None who had partaken of this sacramental meal was to turn aside to right or to left, or to flee from the foe. Immunity from death or serious wound lay in keeping straight ahead. With the dictates of caution thus urging to bold frontal attack the braves of Haavakatolo scored a signal victory.

Jiji and Fainga'a are two female divinities belonging to the Falefa, a clan of great *matabules* attached to the Tui Tonga. An old story relates their unfortunate love for a handsome yellow-haired Samoan named Bajikole ("Folk-Lore," Vol. XXVI.). Their sacred creature is the heron (*motuku*), the dark-coloured heron being the incarnation of Jiji, and the light-coloured of Fainga'a. In Tonga a pair of herons flying together, one dark and the other light-coloured, are called Jiji and Fainga'a. It is said that formerly a pair of herons so differentiated was no uncommon sight, but it is rarely seen now.

Finau-tau-ika, a god whose habitat was in the eastern end of Tongatabu, near the chief residence of the Tui Tonga. His priest was named Mohe-ke-fie-hua (Sleep to Jest?). He is spoken of as a



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god of carrying away, or who carries away, but I have heard no reason for his being thus dubbed. His sacred animal was the pretty little blue and green lizard called by the Tongans *pili*.

Tau-ki-bulotu was the god of Haa-Mene-uli, a part of Niutoua, in the east of Tongatabu. No sacred animal is known, the deity manifesting himself through his priestess, Teletele.

Vai-uka also had his seat near Niutoua, but across the border in the Tui Tonga district of Labaha (same word as the Fijian Lambasa). He was the god of the Haa-Mofuta. Mofuta will be remembered as occurring in the name of a neighbouring deity, Mofuta-ne-ta'u.

This god had no special temple, but the priest was consulted in his own home. There was, however, a sacred grove near which becoming silence must be preserved. The hard black volcanic pebbles, valued on account of their durability as heating stones for the ovens, and also used in the adornment of graves, were sacred to him, and the ground within the grove was strewn with these votive offerings. These pebbles must of course be brought from one of the distant volcanic islands. Vai Uka was much resorted to by the sick. The priest stroked the seat of affliction with the happiest results. It is not clear how far these cures can claim to be supernatural, as such soothing massage is still a regular part of Tongan medical practice. The god's pharmacopœia is strongly parallel too to the healing art of mere mortals in its employment of a liniment whose manufacture and use are far from being divine secrets.

Tui Olotau, King of Olotau, god of Olotau, the piece of ground on which stands the well-known trilithon, the Haamonga-a-Maui (The Burden carried on the Shoulders of Maui), in the eastern part of Tongatabu. His sacred animal was the sea-snake, which is also connected with Hemoana. If a sea-snake were seen ashore the people knew that it was no ordinary sea-snake, but the god.

The *kalae*, a rail sacred to the Tui Tonga. I have not been able to find out the name of the inspiring deity. The worshippers of this bird used to take about with them a bunch of *kalae*, and, as already mentioned, the priest had one of these bunches tattooed on his throat.

This bird's crying at night was an omen of death, and in this connection he was called by the sinister name of *Fata*, the Bier. The house near which he was heard would be the scene of death, and as he flew away the direction from which his note was heard was an indication of the situation of the cemetery in which the dead would be buried. Either through a strange coincidence, or through this bird being in some way attracted by serious illness, the monotonous cry of the *kalae* in unusual numbers added to the dreariness of the nights in November, 1918, when the whole of Nukualofa was filled with the sick and dying, struck down by the wave of pneumonic influenza.



825 The *kanake* (mullet), the sacred creature of the clan called Faingu'a,  
 613 *matabules* of the Tui Tonga. These *matabules* are descended from the  
 644 hero Tui Motuliki, who was the son of the Fijian woman Sinailele  
 719 (this name is perhaps connected with Hina, the widely recognised  
 Polynesian goddess), and the bones of the dead Mani Atalanga and  
 Maui Kijikiji. Tui Motuliki was even mightier than the great Mani,  
 and whilst yet a child performed the most amazing prodigies of  
 713 strength and valour. The mullet was from infancy sacred (*tabu*) to  
 825 him, and an old tale relates that he prohibited its use as food by any  
 784 man. When he came from Fiji to Tonga he brought his *tabu* with  
 262 him, and the Tui Tonga is said to have extended the prohibition on  
 eating it to all the men of Tonga. There seems to be no remembered  
 custom to support this tradition so far as full-grown mullet is con-  
 cerned, though there is corroboration of the statement that the young  
 mullet (called *te'efo*) was *tabu* to the men.

825 The *ceka* (rail) was the god of Maumuna, a chief on the island of  
 776 Eua. It was also the god of Motuku-ree-valu (Eight-legged-heron),  
 a chief in the west of Tongatabu, and the father of Muni, of whom  
 713 exploits are related very similar to those of Maui. It is said that  
 Motuku-ree-valu and his descendants were chiefs in the west of  
 Tongatabu before the present Haa-Nguta lords. This, if true, is a  
 825 very interesting statement. The rail figures prominently in the story  
 713 of Muni, guiding the hero, who had been cast into the sea at birth  
 and was completely unknown to his father, to the old gentleman as he  
 was hiding from his foe Bunga (coral), the chief of Eastern Tonga-  
 713 tabu. Those who belonged to the rail cult used to take the bird about  
 with them. This practice is indicated in the story of the birth of the  
 713 beautiful Vae.

The *lu'u* (owl) is mentioned as sacred to a family group in  
 644 Haupai who belonged to the Falefa, already noticed as *matabules* of the  
 Tui Tonga. Possibly it was sacred to all the Falefa. In passing it  
 551 may be remarked that Falefa seems to mean "wide-spread," "widely  
 ramified," like the water flowing on all sides from the pandanus (*fa*) in  
 a heavy rain.

825 The best remembered feature of the owl's supernatural functions is  
 843 its habit of revealing the pregnancy of women. If the owl booted near  
 a house in the afternoon it was known that there was a pregnant  
 woman in that household. The meddlesome bird never blurted out its  
 news unless for some reason the lady were keeping her interesting  
 condition a secret, or were as yet unaware of it herself.

825 The hooting of an owl near a house late at night was a sign that  
 713 some disaster would befall the unlucky home.

713 Toke-i-Mouua, that Eel-in-the-Open-Sea, was the god of Uihia in  
 643 Haupai, whose chief is Malubo. On his mother's side King George  
 Tabou I. was connected with this family. Two of the king's sons are

764  
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buried in the rather imposing terraced native vaults in Uiha. There was some question as to whether the king himself should not be buried there, as doubtless he would have been if old native custom had been observed, but one of the outward symbols of recent Europeanisation is a royal burial ground in Nukualofa, in which cement takes the place of the great coral slabs cut from the reef with which the tomb of an ancient chief was built up. Before his conversion to Christianity Tubou I. worshipped Toke-i-Moana, whose sacred animal is, as the name implies, the sea-eel. A temple was built for him in Uiha. The sick were taken to Toke-i-Moana and sometimes cured, and sometimes not, after the customary tribute of finger had been collected from an unfortunate relative. There is the usual *tabu* against eating the flesh of the god or approaching a place where it is being prepared as food.

Jinilau is the son of a woman who used, in going out to fish on the reef, always to turn her back to the rising sun, and at length conceived by that luminary, the fruit of this extraordinary marriage being Jinilau, who is spoken of as the god of beauty. Exceptionally handsome persons were called Jinilau, their attractive appearance being regarded as the gift of the god.

Jinilau married Hina, but before the marriage took place the poverty of the god and his mother made the procuring of appropriate adornment to grace the occasion a matter of no small difficulty. The mother, however, solved the question by telling Jinilau to go to his father the Sun and secure his assistance, adding that he must go to him very early in the morning. Jinilau slept too long, and the sun was already above the horizon before the dilatory groom reached him and preferred his request. After a few grumbling remarks about his son's coming to him when he was right up where all the world could be witnesses of their conversation the old gentleman drew a cloud across between them and the eyes of prying mortals, and they had a cosy secluded chat, with no doubt results satisfactory to Jinilau. Hence arise the light clouds which frequently fleck the horizon at sunrise.

There is also an old myth in which Jinilau figures as lord of Akana in Samoa (Folk-Lore, Vol. I., page 94). The Mangaian and Maori Tiniran is lord of fishes, and this Samoan Jinilau has also special connection with the fish, the Tongan story agreeing with the Maori in representing him as lending a whale to Kae, which Kae treacherously killed, and was afterwards slain himself to expiate the crime. In the Tongan story there are two whales, called Tonga and Tununga, relatives of Jinilau, which are lent to Kae to take him to his home in Tonga. By the treachery of Kae, Tununga is killed but Tonga, sadly scarred, returns to Jinilau, and relates the fate of his companion. The attendants of Jinilau thereupon go to Tonga and bear Kae back to Samoa whilst he is asleep, and there he is slain. Tununga had

773 been eaten, but all the scraps obtainable were put into a bowl, and the defunct whale thus restored to life. One tusk, which had been presented to the Tui Tonga, was not recovered, but Jinilan comforted him with the observation that nobody would notice its absence unless he opened his mouth very wide.

776 Toki-lunga-fonua, a great god of Eua, wont to appear in a shark,  
825 called the Tui-Fai-Ana, i.e., King of the Fai Cave. Myth relates  
773 that Toki-lunga-fonua swam to Samoa, and that Tui-fai-ana guarded  
823 him throughout the journey. This shark was not an ordinary fish,  
825 but quite a species to himself. His stump tail was a distinguishing  
784 feature, as was the variability of his colour. His home was the cave  
1826 called Fai-ana on the coast of Eua. He was reputed to be girded  
571 about with a shoal of the fish called in Tongan *hofoli*. Approach to  
226 the god's cavern was impossible to anyone wearing a sweet-smelling  
823 leaf girdle, or having the head whitened with lime, and the prohibition  
825 seems to have extended to persons in whom were physical or moral  
784 defects. (A boat can never be successful in shark-fishing unless  
sincere harmony exists between the members of the crew). No noise  
must be made near his home. Anyone at all unfitted for proximity to  
the god who attempted to approach the cave fell from the narrow rock  
path along which he must go, but apparently escaped any penalty  
more serious than a wetting, for falling into the sea he had no  
difficulty in swimming back a little way, and there scrambling ashore.  
It is said too that a great wave used to arise at the mouth of the cave  
and prevent the approach of the wrongly-disposed person. I have not  
yet met anyone who claims to have seen this remarkable shark,  
though I have talked with a young man who says that he has seen in  
the cave the shoal of *hofoli* said to be the leaf-girdle of Tui-fai-ana.

776 Toki-lunga-fonua (Land-building Axe) is said to have come down  
from heaven as king of Eua. He begot by his sister Hina twin  
daughters, Tobukulu and Nafanua, who in their turn bore to their  
father Hemorua and Tafakula. These incests were unwittingly  
committed, the parties to them being ignorant of each other's  
identity.

825 The people of Eua are said to be immune from attack by the  
species of shark called *anga*. As a matter of fact the *anga* has more  
[262] reason to fear Tongans than they to fear him. It is rarely that one  
226 hears of a Tongan being injured by a shark, but the shark furnishes  
many a meal for the Tongan. The native of these islands displays  
remarkable intrepidity and skill in the water. In the shark-fishing,  
the shark is enticed alongside the boat by singing and calling out and  
rattling with coconut shells strung on a stick, and a running noose is  
then slipped over his head. If matters are not going smoothly a  
member of the crew does not hesitate to jump overboard and attend to  
the noose at close quarters.

Sharks' teeth were a regular part of the furnishing of temples dedicated to shark deities. 237

Tobukulu and Nafanua, the twin sisters mentioned above, daughters of Toki-lunga-fonua and Hina, and the mothers of Hemoana and Tafakula. They were turned into two rocks to which prayers were made for good seasons and big hauls of fish. 776 776 [823] [782]

Hemoana, literally Sea-Wanderer, has already been noticed in the brief notes of the creation myth as one of the original gods. Another account regards him as the son of Tobukulu, born whilst his mother, with her twin sister, was swimming home to Eua after the incest with their father. Toki-lunga-fonua had abandoned Eua in horror at the discovery of the close relationship that subsisted between himself and Hina, but the desire of the twins to see their father had added fresh blots to the family history. 776

Hemoana was abandoned in the sea by his mother as soon as he was born. He was wont to appear in the sea-snake (*tuku-hali*). [825]

Tafakula, literally Red-Edge, a female divinity, born soon after Hemoana as their mothers were swimming from Samoa to Eua. Tafakula's mother, Nafanua, refused to abandon her in the sea, although strongly urged by Tobukulu to do so, and took the child home with her to Eua. In process of time Hemoana came to Eua to visit his relatives there, and he and Tafakula added another to the family's record of unwitting incest, but the unholy succession was stopped by Tafakula's battering the fruit of this union to death with a stone. Offerings were brought to Tafakula, and intercession made, to ensure fruitful seasons, and protection against hurricane and drought. [776] [821] [776] [822] [824] [776]

The suggestion is made by an intelligent Tongan that the name may refer to the red horizon at dawn and sunset. She is the goddess of the light. The island of Eua is high and stands towards the sun-rising from Tongatabu. It would be the first to catch the ruddy glow of the sun as he rose, and would also reflect his last beams as he disappeared below the horizon. Red things are particularly associated with Tafakula, the red varieties of several objects being spoken of as hers. In Eua there is a mound about which are growing two sorts of coconuts, whose Tongan names mean the red nut and the white nut, which is still called the demesne of Tafakula. This mound is probably the site of a house sacred to her. 776 [821] 133 776 [822] [824] [776]

Hina, a goddess widely known throughout Polynesia. Although the body of lore concerning her is not uniform there are numerous and close parallels between the accounts of the various Polynesian peoples. She occurs in several distinct connections in Tongan tradition, each of them presenting points of similarity with accounts from other parts of Polynesia. It will be well to summarise these. 776 776

776 She is generally regarded as the Moon-goddess, and this view was  
[821] spontaneously put forward by a Tongan in conversation with me.

[171] Tregear, in his Maori Comparative Dictionary, speaks of her as being connected in the Maori accounts with the Ocean-lord, Tinirau, in a very mythical manner. The Tongan myth of her marriage with Jiniiau has been mentioned above.

776 The tradition of Hina as the sister-wife of the Shark god,  
825 Toki-lunga-fonua, has already been noticed. This is not her only  
773 association with the shark. A Tongan native has told me that in shark-fishing the sharks are often addressed as Hina. In Eueika (Little Eua), an island not far from Eua, Hina is said to be the daughter of the first Tui Tufu, the chief of Eueika. She was very lovely, but one day, whilst sporting in the surf she disappeared, and nothing could be discovered of her fate, till at length she inspired in her father a dream, telling him that through the ill-will of a Samoan god she had been swallowed by a shark, into which the malevolent deity had entered to compass her destruction. Her father thereupon told his people that they need never more fear the shark, as nobody of Eueika would ever more be endangered by one. It is said that as a  
[481] matter of fact there is no known instance of an Eueika man or woman having been injured by a shark, although both sexes freely and fearlessly swim long distances in the open sea.

In Vavau Hina is the daughter of Maunga-koloa and Tama-tang-kia, and sister of Ngatai (Sea, or Seawards) and Fanna (Land). She had a pet shark, which she kept in a pool ashore, till one day, during an exceptionally high tide, which overflowed the pool, it made good its escape to the open ocean. Hina was inconsolable at the loss of her favourite, and started off to seek it, with her parent, rowing three in the canoe. When the shark was at length discovered out at sea Hina, in order to remain near her pet, jumped into the water and became a reef. Her parents commenced to return to shore, but, unwilling to leave their daughter, they too leapt into the sea, and became two rocks. The three-oared canoe flew up into the sky, and became part  
[821] of the constellation of Orion. Hina's two brothers, Ngatai and Fanna, later set off to seek their father and mother and sister, and became two other rocks or reefs.

776 Sinailele, the Fijian mother of Tui Motuliki, is probably another appearance of Hina.

[825] The Shark is also the god of the clan of the Tui Tofua, i.e., King, or Chief, of Tofua, a high volcanic island in Haapai, historically  
[175] interesting as being the island on which Blight landed after the mutiny of the "Bounty," and from which commenced his wonderful open-boat voyage. Tofua is not now inhabited, but people lived there  
[361] within the memory of living men.



There is a tradition that an early Tui Tofua was about to kill his son in a fit of jealous anger, but the youth obtained his father's permission to sail away with some of his people. When they got well out to sea he told the crew to jump one by one into the water. As each man leapt into the sea he became a shark, of the more harmless variety called *anga*. The young chief himself was last, and he was turned into one of the great man-eating sharks called *tenifa*. A Samoan on board, not relishing the metamorphosis, refused to participate, and returned and told the tale on shore. Since then the shark has been sacred (*tabu*) to the Tofua people, and must not be eaten by them, on account of the relationship subsisting between them. There is still extant a song referring to this exploit.

I have received a brief note regarding the gods of Niua Fo'ou, one of the most distant islands of the Tongan Group, lying midway between Vavau and Samoa. This is a hilly, volcanic island, with a lake in an old crater in the middle. It has been the scene of volcanic outbreak within very recent years.

The note states that the gods of Niua Fo'ou were three in number, namely Pig's Liver, the Octopus, and a large lump of Coral (*Bunga*). Neither the pig's liver nor the octopus could be eaten by their worshippers. Throughout Tonga the liver is a very special portion of the pig, and when on important occasions cooked food is presented to a chief the liver of a pig is taken and ceremoniously placed before him. *Bunga* (Coral) is the name of the chief of eastern Tongatabu from whom Motuku-vae-valu, the father of Muni, was hiding when his son discovered him. *Bunga* was overcome by that hero in a wrestling match. This *Bunga* was the possessor of two enormous *kata* plants, and of a white flying-fox from whose movements he read auguries.

When Niua Fo'ou became Christian the people threw their coral god into the lake.

There are several gods mentioned by Mariner of which I have not been able to get any independent account. Mariner was best acquainted with Vavau, whereas the foregoing notes deal mainly with Tongatabu. As a whole, however, the Tongan people fit into a framework which may be constructed in Tongatabu. The chieftainships of the two northern groups have well understood relations with Tongatabu, all deriving ultimately from the Tui Tonga. It is not clear what was the first home of the Polynesians in the group, or what they found on arrival. Tradition points to their having come from Samoa, a conclusion which is supported by the general evidence of geographical distribution, and to their first settlements having been in the southern part, though the farthest from Samoa, in Ena and Ata. It is not impossible, that these southern settlers may have been pre-Polynesian, and that the acclimatisation of Polynesian myths amongst them was



595 The rank of the children of the various wives of a chief depended  
622 or that of their mothers. In the case of two wives of equal rank the elder normally took precedence of the younger, and her children over those of the younger woman. A wife might so win her husband's affections as to cause him to grant precedence to her children over those of an elder woman of equal rank, but favouritism could scarcely avail to elevate the children of a specially beloved wife above those of a higher chieftainess. A special term was used for the principal wife.

831 Many stories are told of handsome men, called *mana'ia*, possessed  
833 of *mana*, supernatural power, whose charms were irresistible to the ladies. The patron of these boudoir knights was Jimilau, the god of beauty, whose gift their handsome persons were, and who were themselves sometimes even called Jimilau. The custom obtained, and is more or less perpetuated in modern marriages, for a maiden to present a particular mat to the man to whom she gave her virgin love, and the prestige of the *mana'ia* was in proportion to the number of these trophies he had won.

The *mana'ia* was prepared for his amorous calling with the carefulness of an aspirant to a learned profession or an athletic championship. His friends and relatives, male and female, omitted no attention that should increase his attractiveness. All that was demanded of him was that he should look well, and fascinate the ladies. High rank, though valued, was not indispensable; but it is obviously improbable that the profession of lover could have been open to men of very humble birth. Even personal courage and prowess were not essential—merely good looks. The name and fame of notable male beauties are perpetuated in tale and proverb, and extraordinary sway over ladies' hearts is ascribed to them. It is related that a chieftainess was about to be married to a great lord; the nuptials indeed had commenced, and the guests were seated on

[309] the first evening of the ceremonies in a house with the bride. A specially favoured *mana'ia*, who desired the girl for himself, thrust his hand, on which was tattooed a distinctive mark, through a hole in the thatch roof. The bride-elect, thus apprised of who awaited her without, slipped from the house, and eloped with the *mana'ia*.

[584] I am told that the *mana'ia* had no real status in Tongan social organisation; but that families forwarded the interests of their handsome men merely to assist them to form advantageous connections, and collect large quantities of mats and cloth, in which they all might share. The first holder of the great Tuangi title was [555] called Tuangi Mana'in, and tradition ascribes his elevation to exalted rank to his personal attractiveness, but the genealogies show that this is a mistaken notion, as in his veins flowed the highest chiefly blood of Tonga. The present Tuangi is the consort of the reigning Queen. [644]

to indicate the attitude of mind of the church members. 795  
Needless to say the case has its heathen parallels.

Although the worship of the ancient deities is dead, 795  
nevertheless there was living in Tongatapu Island in 1921, 178  
one Kautai, who had only a few months before been installed 793  
as priest of the shark-god Taufa. Though the worship of [554]  
Taufa has perished and his sanctuary is no more, still the  
title of his priest lives, each patrilinear successor having the  
title conferred on him by the reigning monarch. The pre-  
sent Kautai is a good Roman Catholic. This perpetuation 178  
of ancient titles is common in Tonga. Ancient powerful 554  
chiefs are represented to-day by individuals bearing the  
same titles, but utterly shorn of power.

Three ancient deities still manifest themselves. One is 776  
Fehuluni, a disembodied human spirit, who sometimes ap- 787  
pears as a male, sometimes as a female, and usually in a  
siren role. A native fired at a feminine manifestation of  
this deity with a shot gun, only to find a dead lizard at the  
spot where the apparition was seen.

Another deity much feared is the lizard god Tui Haa 776  
Fakafanua. His headquarters in Tongatabu are within 784  
Catholic precincts, where was formerly his sacred pool. Con-  
vent girls shun the spot, for the evil reputation of the god  
for causing feminine ills still lives.

Seketoa, a fish god of Niuatoputapu Island, has been 776  
much in evidence in recent years. His incarnation is a great  
fish which follows boats near Niuatoputapu. His presence  
in those waters is unimpeachably attested by both Tongan  
and European observers.

The royal tombs of Tonga are truncated, terraced 764  
pyramids, anciently of enormous blocks of coral sandstone.  
In recent decades the material utilized has been concrete. [178]  
Tongans will not walk over a royal tomb, no matter how [769]  
ancient.

Graves of commoners are marked by little terraced 764  
mounds decorated with a mosaic of small stones of different 531  
colours. To-day the designs are more intricate than [177]  
anciently, the coloured linoleum and title advertisements of  
magazines having furnished ideas for new geometric de-  
signs.

Ghosts now and then manifest themselves as of old. 775  
In 1921, a Catholic girl, gathering shellfish with women on

132 fact is, the heavy rain soon saps the foundation of the large posts upon which the security of the building depends. Gradually the wind sways the superstructure to and fro, and at every gust, opens and widens the earth around the sockets of the posts, until the entire fabric loses its equilibrium, and coming down with a crash, all its posts and beams, however tough and thick, are snapped like so many carrots. Nevertheless, instances have been known in which posts, two feet in diameter, were broken off short by the surface of the ground, where their sockets had been imbedded in solid rock.

133 All the islands are subject to earthquakes, which are both frequent and violent. This might naturally be expected from the proximity of so much continuous volcanic action; but their occurrence produces very little alarm. The native buildings cannot be overthrown, and hence, beyond the awe with which the earthquake is calculated to inspire every mind, there is no sense of personal insecurity. Although they are, at times, so violent as to detach large portions of stone from the face of the cliffs, we never heard of any fatal, or even disastrous, consequences resulting from them. One of the gods

133 (some say Maui, and others say Lofia,) is said to be reposing in the heart of the volcano at Tofua, 776 and that the earthquake is either caused by the 823 excessive nodding of the deity, or by the act of turning from one side to the other, when too much irritated by the effects of his fiery bed. Whichever it may be, the natives invariably raise a great shout, during the continuance of the tremulous motion, for the purpose of thoroughly awaking the Plutonic deity, lest his nodding and uneasi-

## SALINE LAKE IN NOMUKA.

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ness should, unhappily, overturn the world altogether. This custom still prevails; although the belief of the native mind, as to the supposed cause of the earthquake, has long since been abandoned.

In addition to the fresh-water and other lakes already enumerated, in connexion with several of the volcanic islands, there is one at Nomuka, in Haabai, having certain saline properties, exceedingly worthy of notice. There is also another, in the western district of Vavau, but it has no special peculiarities, and it is of no great extent.

That at Nomuka occupies the centre of the island, which, although not more than one hundred feet in elevation, is evidently of volcanic origin. Following the shape of the island, the lake extends lengthwise in an oval form. Its depth is remarkably varied, being in some places only a few feet, and, in others, as many fathoms. The water is intensely brackish, and, in taste, is not unlike a strong solution of Epsom salts. There is no visible connexion with the outer ocean, and no perceptible rise or fall of the water.

A peculiar fish is found here in great abundance. It differs from all known in the adjacent sea, and it has the property of remaining perfectly fresh for an entire day or more, while all other kinds go bad, in the course of two or three hours, in consequence of the extreme heat. After being once cooked, the *ava* will remain eatable for a number of days: and hence it is in much request, by the natives, when on their voyages, as an article of provender. Indeed, the lake may be regarded as a fish preserve, inasmuch as it is placed under certain restrictions in favour of voyagers. No

## SKETCH OF TONGUESE RELIGION.

255

and it was also his duty to maintain the god-house, or temple, in due repair and order. [174] [794]

The religion of the Tonguese, as it existed when they became known to the civilized world, incorporated no abstract principles of belief. It was rather a system of despotism, in which deities, ceremonies, and restrictions, had been indefinitely multiplied, till it presented a chaos of dark superstitions, into which the population plunged headlong, through slavish fear and ignorance. The mysteries and enactments of heathen worship, although submitted to by the chiefs themselves, unquestionably were intended more for the perpetuation of their power and influence, than to direct the ideas of the people to matters of spiritual and eternal interest, or even to those involving temporal improvement. No spirit of benevolence pervaded the system. It abounded in punishments for the present life, and in dark threatenings for the future. *Bulotu*, the Tonguese paradise, was reserved only for the spirits of departed chiefs and persons of rank; who, in their turn, became the servants of the presiding genius of *Bulotu*, and as such were often worshipped and sacrificed to by the people, for the purpose of securing their interposition with the gods. Of the fate of the *tuas*, or common people, there was no certainty whatever; and it was doubtful whether they had any souls at all. A general opinion, however, did prevail, that there was a future state, and with it vague and conflicting notions of rewards and punishments. Their traditions referred to the creation of the world, and probably also to the deluge; but, even then, according to their ideas, a multiplicity of gods existed. Savage rites, and deities who

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181 delighted in mischief and blood; a cruel and rapacious priesthood; a despotic and oppressive government; inhuman faiths, and absurd superstitions; under these the people were held in abject bondage. It was, emphatically, "a land of darkness, as darkness itself, and of the shadow of death."

776 The gods of the Tonguese were numerous, and they received constant additions from the most trivial circumstances. Every object of fear, or from which harm could come, was worshipped. Sharks, volcanoes, and any singular appearance in the natural kingdom, had each their devotees. There were family deities, and gods of the wars, seasons, crops, and winds. The four principal gods in their mythology were Tangaloa, Maui, Hikuleo, and Heu-moana-uliuli. It is questionable which of these was accounted the chief deity, or whether, indeed, the Tonguese had any notion of one Supreme Being; and, as the history of these deities has little in it calculated either to interest or instruct, we must refer our readers to other sources for information regarding them.\* Suffice it to say, that in Tonguese heathenism, as in other pagan systems, we see how man has deified man: how his fertile imagination has peopled groves, shores, oceans, and skies, with beings of wonderful natures;—beings who, with some, were the objects of fear, and, with others, of companionship and protection. Here, as in all other heathen lands, men, "professing themselves to be wise, became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-

[113] \* Appendix to Lawry's "Missionary Visit to the Friendly and Feejee Islands," Mason, London, pp. 248-251. "Tonga and the Friendly Islands," by Miss Farmer, pp. 125-187.



## CHARACTER OF THE PRIESTS.

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footed beasts, and creeping things." (Rom. i. 22, 23.) 776

The sacrifices offered to the gods consisted chiefly of animals, fruits, vegetables, and native valuables. Upon special occasions, however, finger-joints were offered; and, in great emergencies, human victims were immolated to propitiate the angry deities. These acts were by no means unfrequent; and there was a certain *faahiga*, or tribe, from which the sacrificial victim was usually selected. 782

The priesthood was hereditary, and constituted a numerous and powerful body, in former times, whose support taxed, very heavily, the labour and substance of the people. The priests took rank from their gods and chiefs; the worship of the latter determining, in great measure, the popularity of the former. The power of the priest, though it partook more of a religious character, was second only to that of the chiefs. Their persons were esteemed sacred because of their presumed familiarity with the gods; and these spiritual lords of the people, like the temporal ones, neglected no opportunity of personal aggrandizement, and the advance of their selfish interests. Even over the warrior-chiefs, the priests exercised a powerful influence, and often made their religious fears and blind devotion subservient to their covetous desires. In sickness, or when under the fear of sorcery, their favourable consideration was only to be secured by gifts, proportioned to the rank of the applicant. Incantations to be practised upon enemies, or counter ceremonies, to ward off imaginary evil influences from them, could only be obtained at great cost. Of these death-dealing incantations, both chiefs and 754

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SENT TO HAABAL.

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to see, on our approaching the shore, a chief called Tuuhetoka sitting in the act of reverent worship by the seaside. When, therefore, we drew near to Lifuka, so it happened. Tuuhetoka *was* there on the shore, doing lowly reverence. Upon seeing him, the heathens said among themselves, 'Alas! it is true; we shall have to fly.' But when the canoe had reached the land, I told them all to remain on board, while Tufui, Mafileo, and myself, went to see the king, Taufaa-ahau. As soon as he saw us approaching, he smiled upon us, and I said within myself, 'Thanks! the Lord has given me favour.' After some conversation, he said to us, 'It is said, friends, that the chiefs here are angry; but never mind them; let us go and seek for a house where Peter may lodge.'

"On the first Sabbath day, while going to preach, two women mocked me in the road, and said many evil things about me. Many and great were my trials and the false reports that were spread about me at that time; but the Lord filled the mind of the King Taufaa-ahau with great love to me. He took lessons from me in reading; but he had not yet begun to worship God. After I had been living with him some little time, he said to me one day, 'Come, Peter, let us go and seek the god Haehaetahi, that I may talk with him, and make him a present of *kava*.' Accordingly, we went on our journey to Foa, where the god's priestess dwelt. As we went along, the king told me he was going to do the god some mischief. He then pulled up a young banana tree; and, after cutting it into the shape of a club, he said, 'I will strike the devil-god with this.' I then said, 'Don't strike with the root, lest you kill the old woman,'

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539 (the god's attendant priestess, or shrine.) He then  
 797 cut off the hard portion of the root, and said, at  
 643 the same time holding up the stem, 'There, then,  
 771 I will strike only with this.'

776 "When we arrived at the place to present the  
*kava* of the god, the old priestess said, 'Haehaetahi  
 is not here:' upon which Taufaa-ahau replied, 'Per-  
 haps the god is vexed with me because of this great  
 garland of flowers;' (referring to some upon his  
 own person;) 'but let him forgive, and return hither,  
 that we may drink *kava* together.' Hereupon the  
 [787] old priestess became inspired by Haehaetahi; and,  
 in the meanwhile, Taufaa-ahau had prepared a great  
 drinking-cup, large enough for four persons to  
 drink from; for he knew, he said, that 'Haehaetahi  
 was a god fond of drink.' The cup was then filled  
 and handed by Taufaa-ahau to the priestess; but,  
 while her face was turned upwards, in the act of  
 drinking off its contents, Taufaa-ahau struck her a  
 great blow on the forehead, which sent the god (or  
 priestess) rolling on the ground. He then gave  
 another blow, and, raising a shout of victory, cried  
 out that the god was slain. Owing to this act,  
 no god was again willing to appear openly through-  
 out Haabai. The whole fraternity of gods were  
 afraid lest they should be beaten like Haehaetahi;  
 for, from that time, Taufaa-ahau became very mis-  
 chievous to them all.

539 "But the following was the manner, and the occa-  
 797 sion, of the king's first open profession of Christianity.  
 643 There came a request to me, from a certain chief,  
 [778] that I would go and burn a sacred tree, that so he  
 might be at liberty to cut it up, and use it in build-  
 ing his canoe. As I went along, some women  
 asked, 'Where is the man of prayer going?' So

*Kava Ceremonial in Tonga.*

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Tu'i Kanokupolu ceremony the counter touches each basket, <sup>276</sup>  
using alternately the right and left hand. <sup>574</sup>  
<sup>643</sup>

Great as was the Tu'i Tonga, the Tama-ha, Sacred Child, the child, especially the daughter, of his sister or of his father's sister, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, was, by the ordinary rules of social precedence, his superior. This superiority was acknowledge by presentations of food, and presumably of *kava*. The basket of food taken by the Tu'i Tonga to the Tamaha was slung on a pole between two bearers, and by a fiction represented as borne on the king's own shoulder. A piece of native cloth was tied to the basket, and the Tu'i Tonga walked along, holding the end of this cloth. This was called the *ha'amo*, bearing on a pole, of the Tu'i Tonga.

VISITS TO SHRINES.

The presentation and drinking of *kava* was an essential <sup>276</sup>  
part of the visit and supplication to gods. The priest seems <sup>782</sup>  
to have been the chief at such a ceremony; as the Tongan <sup>793</sup>  
expression has it, the *kava* was his, or to him.

In visiting a shrine it would appear that even great <sup>276</sup>  
chiefs did not disdain to serve the *kava*, and act as cup- <sup>778</sup>  
bearers to the gods. An excellently-informed and elderly <sup>782</sup>  
chief told me that Tautaaahau, King George Tupou I., was <sup>793</sup>  
serving the *kava* during a memorable visit to a shrine in <sup>643</sup>  
Ha'apai, to which was attached a priestess. It was in the early days of Christianity, and Tautaaahau avowed his nascent disbelief in the old gods by smiting the priestess in the throat, with the butt end of a coconut leaf, as she was drinking her cup of *kava*.

The late chief Tamale, an elderly man when I knew <sup>276</sup>  
him, said that when *kava* was taken to the great god of <sup>782</sup>  
eastern Tongatabu, Pulotu Katoa, who was especially asso- <sup>793</sup>  
ciated with Nuku, the *kava* was presented, or the ceremony <sup>776</sup>  
directed, to the god's priest Vakahi. Those who acted as *matapule* at such a ceremony were Ma'elo, a younger brother of Nuku, and Tamale, the son of Nuku's daughter. The representative of this god, or that through which the god came into rapport with the physical world, was a dog, and a dog lay beside the priest during the ceremony. (825)

The offerings to a god would include food, cloth, mats, etc., and doubtless served to enrich the priests.

## MATERIAL REPRESENTATIVES OF TONGAN AND SAMOAN GODS.

BY TE RANGI HIROA.

### INTRODUCTORY.

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171 THE Tongans and Samoans of western Polynesia resembled other groups in southern, central, eastern, and northern Polynesia in having gods, priests, and places where religious observances were carried out.

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776 The gods varied in origin, sphere of influence, and power. Their power was confined to a family group or extended to tribes, villages, districts, or even to one or more islands. In general principle, the gods were regarded as something intangible without innate material form.

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793 The priest was the human medium between the god and the followers of the god. The office was usually hereditary and carried out the transmitted ritual and observances that placated the god and induced it to use supernormal influence on behalf of the devotees. A visible manifestation of the formless god was apparent when an inspired priest was affected with a convulsive seizure attributed to the god entering his human medium to make known his decisions or commands. In such cases, the priest was regarded as a material receptacle and was hence termed a *waka* (canoe or receptacle) in New Zealand and a *pi'a atua* (god-box) in Mangaia. The inspirational technique was used throughout Polynesia but not all priests were convulsive receptacles nor did all gods assume this method of visible manifestation.

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[788] The official places for making divine contact varied considerably. Certain gods were represented by rocks or trees, and a simple ritual such as the offering of a branch or a pebble or the muttering of a short formula was carried out even by the laity when such sites were passed. For more important deities and occasions, special structures were constructed, the offerings assumed greater value culminating in some regions in human sacrifices, the

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merely followed the pattern adopted with houses for human occupation. The fundamental element of the religious structure was the house in which sacred objects were kept and in which the priest might reside.

(c) No specialized structure. New Zealand, the southern region settled by Polynesians, was characterized by the absence of an elaborated pattern of religious structure. The paved *marae* court of central Polynesia with its religious significance was absent, but the term *marae* was applied to an unpaved social court before the village meeting-house. The New Zealand *marae* thus had an affinity with the Tongan and Samoan *malae* in that it formed an assembly-ground for social functions. The religious *ahu* of central Polynesia was divorced from the social *marae*, and under the name of *tuahu* (*tu-ahu*) was relegated to some selected spot outside the village. The *tuahu* consisted merely of a cleared space, a wooden post, an upright stone, or even of as many as five stones set upright by human agency. More often, however, the *tuahu* was represented by a selected outcrop of rock which the hand of man had no part in providing.

It is true that the dwelling-house occupied by the priest in New Zealand might be regarded as taboo by the general public from its association and the priest might be consulted there in his religious capacity, but there was no special complex as in western Polynesia. In New Zealand, the house was the house of the priest; but in Tonga, the house was the house of the god. Small sacred houses were erected on one or more piles, in which offerings for the gods were placed on occasions, but such buildings were isolated elements that lacked the definite relationship which existed between the raised wooden platforms (*fata*) for offerings and the religious *marae* in central Polynesia. The Maori seemed to be content to get into touch with his gods without the aid of the elaboration in religious structure which took place in the rest of Polynesia.

Though the Polynesians created their gods from immaterial beings without innate material form, they associated them with certain material forms that the eye could see. The material representatives of the gods without form of their own may be classed into two groups, animate and inanimate.



*Tongan and Samoan Gods*

51

ANIMATE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GODS.

From the earliest times, man has observed the move-  
ments of animals and birds and drawn deductions from  
them. Sometimes the deductions were quite rational and  
assisted materially in the prosecution of the food-quest.  
The Polynesian fisherman observed the actions of flocks of  
sea-birds and deduced from them that they were following  
shoals of young fish. He joined in the chase, knowing  
from experience that shoals of bonito would also be follow-  
ing beneath in the water and would take his pearl-shell  
lure in mistake for fish. The voyager noted the flight  
of sea-birds in a certain direction in the evening and  
deduced that land lay in that direction, for experience had  
taught him that even sea-birds prefer to rest on land at  
night. Other interpretations of movements do not appear  
so rational, such as those with a supernatural association.  
Animals and birds were somehow credited with being  
influenced by supernatural causes more readily than man.  
Movements of living things were thus interpreted to indicate  
whether or not the individual person or group would be  
successful in the particular quest which occupied attention  
at the time. The attitude toward such phenomena as the  
movements of living things was a general vague idea of  
luck, good or bad. In Polynesian society, the attitude was  
more definitely connected with the spiritual concept that  
the immaterial gods influenced the movements of living  
bodies to convey messages to their followers. Usually  
movements in the same direction were favourable while  
movements in the opposite direction were unfavourable.  
Movement or appearance on a particular side was favourable  
while on the opposite side the effect would also be opposite.  
A further step was taken when families and groups selected  
certain living things to represent their specific god. The  
living object thus became the animate representative of  
their immaterial god and the god's communications were  
evidenced by the appearance, movements, or sounds, that  
the living representative made. Another step in elaboration  
took place when on occasions the god was regarded as being  
actually present in the living representative, much in the  
same way that the god took possession of the inspirational  
priest. Bird-representatives usually acted as messengers  
without the god being in temporary residence. The living

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representatives of gods are usually referred to as incarnations; but it must be remembered there is a wide range of belief from their being merely sacred to the gods to their being occupied by the gods. The Maori term for the living representatives is *aria* and the Tahitian is *ata*. Both terms carry the association of form or shadow. The Tongan term applied to them is *vaka* (canoe, receptacle) which is the term applied by the Maori to the priest who was the receptacle that the god entered at times.

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Diversity occurs with regard to the question of taboo. Should an individual member of a species be regarded as the god's representative only when functioning, or should the whole species be taboo at all times? In New Zealand, the prevailing concept was that a member of the selected species was regarded as the divine representative when it acted in a significant manner or when a sign was required. Otherwise, any member of an edible species was freely eaten by the worshippers of the god represented by the species. In Tonga and Samoa, the whole species was taboo to all followers at all times. This western attitude comes near to one of the elements of totemism but, even here, it must be remembered that the animal incarnation had never been an ancestor but that it was merely the representative at most of a human ancestor who had been deified.

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The following table, compiled from Collocott<sup>1</sup> and Gifford<sup>2</sup> for Tonga and from Turner<sup>3</sup> for Samoa, gives a list of the kinds of animate representatives utilized in the two groups and the number of gods that used each species:

TABLE 1—ANIMATE REPRESENTATIVES IN TONGA AND SAMOA.

| Animate Representative  | Tonga | Samoa |
|-------------------------|-------|-------|
| Dog ....                | 1     | 1     |
| Flying fox ....         | 1     | 1     |
| Bat ....                | -     | 2     |
| Pigeons ....            | 1     | 5     |
| Dove ....               | 1     | -     |
| Rail ( <i>re'a</i> ) .. | 2     | 5     |
| Owl ....                | 1     | 4     |

<sup>1</sup>Collocott, E. E. V., Notes on Tongan Religion, *J.P.S.*, vol. 30, 1921, pp. 152, 227.

<sup>2</sup>Gifford, E. W., Tongan Society, *Bishop Museum Bulletin*, no. 61, 1929.

<sup>3</sup>Turner, G., Samoa, a Hundred Years Ago, . . . 1884.

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*Tongan and Samoan Gods*

53

| Animate Representative           | Tonga | Samoa |
|----------------------------------|-------|-------|
| Fowl .....                       | -     | 4     |
| Kingfisher .....                 | 1     | 2     |
| Heron .....                      | 2     | 1     |
| Snipe .....                      | 1     | -     |
| Tern .....                       | 1     | 1     |
| Mannali'i .....                  | 1     | 1     |
| Kaleva .....                     | 1     | -     |
| Fuia .....                       | -     | 1     |
| Turtle .....                     | -     | 5     |
| Stingray .....                   | -     | 2     |
| Octopus .....                    | 2     | 7     |
| Shark .....                      | 5     | -     |
| Eel .....                        | 1     | 4     |
| Sea-eel .....                    | 2     | 4     |
| Sea-snake .....                  | 2     | -     |
| Mullet .....                     | 1     | 5     |
| Vete .....                       | 1     | -     |
| Cockle .....                     | -     | 1     |
| Shell-fish ( <i>fuhu</i> ) ..... | 1     | -     |
| Sea-urchin .....                 | -     | 1     |
| Land crab .....                  | -     | 1     |
| Lizard .....                     | 2     | 3     |
| Centipede .....                  | -     | 2     |
| Butterfly .....                  | -     | 1     |
|                                  | 31    | 64    |

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Human form occurred with three gods in Tonga and with five in Samoa. These were spiritual or ghostly forms and cannot be classed as animate representatives, even though they were credited with movement. The human living representative was strictly speaking the inspirational priest when possessed by the god.

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Natural phenomena in the form of the moon (3), rainbow (2), star (1), lightning (1), and cloud (1), occurred in Samoa as representatives of the gods, but they have not been recorded for Tonga by the authorities consulted. Though not living representatives, they could yet convey information from their appearance and apparent movement.

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Some representatives such as sea-urchins and shell-fish were probably merely taboo to the god or, in other words, could not be eaten by the god's worshippers.

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(To be continued.)

[pp. 54-84 not processed]

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532 The original label that went with the sitting image reads as follows: "Household Goddess of the Emperor of  
[776] Tonga and part of the dress worn by him when he worshipped the Devil." The label confirms the locality of  
[643] the image, and, as Tafaahau became the ruler of Tonga, the image evidently formed one of the group that Tafaahau  
[798] abandoned in 1830. It is the only image that I know of that has been carved in a sitting position and is hence unique. In spite of the mutilation, the lines of the body and the thighs show good workmanship.

The ivory image is thus described by Mr. Oldman in his letter: "Very old and much worn with handling, stained a deep orange-yellow of beautiful tone and with symmetrical deeper coloured markings on front of body and lower legs and on posterior. Arm has been fractured. I consider it one of the finest little gems I possess." A line drawing of the print is shown in fig. 4.

The Oldman ivory image, while typically Tongan, is not quite so realistic in treatment as the largest ivory image in the British Museum or the Fuller wooden image. From the treatment of the eyes and the comparatively wide width of the shoulders, it stands between these more realistic images and the more conventionalized types in the Oldman collection shown in figs. 1 and 2.

292 The dress worn by Tafaahau when he took part in the religious service of his own culture, rather snobbishly described as "worshipping the devil," consisted of bark cloth, and from its narrow width it was evidently a sash or a perineal band (*malo*). As specimens of cloth of authentic early manufacture should be regarded as type specimens for future study, a drawing made from Mr. Oldman's photograph is shown in fig. 5, a.

411 Mr. Oldman included in his pictures, two clubs with  
531 projecting bosses on the expanded heads of the clubs. These bosses are shaped in a form similar to the flat faces with pointed chins of the Tongan images, and they have elongated triangular projections which correspond in position and shape to the noses of the images. Though eyes and mouth are not represented, I agree with Mr. Oldman in his opinion that this conventionalized motive has been derived from the faces of the Tongan images. It is probable, therefore,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 80]

"And what then?"

"When it does not come there is nothing to do but return to shore, because that is the proof that someone has violated the tabu of the closed house, or perhaps that one of us has some grudge or anger in his heart. So we must go and correct what is amiss, and then the fishing may recommence."<sup>1</sup>

The shark indeed is a great searcher of the heart, and the man who attempts to approach the cavern where resides the great shark-god of the island of Eua will find himself unable to reach the spot should his heart be not as it should be. Although particularly notable in the case of the shark the same type of idea is found in fishing generally. Persistent ill-luck gets a boat a bad reputation which reflects more on the ethical qualities of crew and owners, and of the boat herself, than on their skill as fishermen. "The fishing is accursed; let us go ashore."

Gardens were protected by tabus. Frequently a coconut-leaf representation of the shark was put up on the trunk of a tree, which was as effective as turning the shark-god Taufaa loose in the garden. It is stated that Taufaa, better known to Europeans as King George I—under whom, after many years of strife, Tonga became a homogeneous kingdom with Christianity universally and firmly established throughout the group—experimented with some of these tabu signs to assure himself of the impotency of the old gods, and also made the more daring test of swimming out to the opening in the reef of the island of Lifuka in Haapai and shouting defiance to the sharks.

#### SIN

A general idea of the sort of conduct that was ethically right is obtained by attention to the words which indicate wrong-doing. This is too lengthy an inquiry to be entered on in any detail in this place, but to inquiries as to what conduct would be formerly included under the word *hia*, which is commonly translated "sin" but is today too much mixed up with the modern machinery of law-courts to afford a clear idea of its ancient significance, it was answered murder and connection with the wife of a man of superior rank to the offender.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pages 59 and 60.

of true love, errant fancy may have been attracted by some other 588  
 charmer. In all cases the procedure is the same. Recourse is had 797  
 to a white missionary or native pastor to dissolve the oath. In the 793  
 cases that have come to my own notice the clergy, European and  
 Tongan, have refused to be parties to this superstitious use of the  
 Bible, and have sent the suitors away with a little healthy advice.

In reference to murder Mariner remarks, "An old mataboole used 682  
 to say, that useless and unprovoked murder was highly offensive to 776  
 the gods, and that he never remembered a man guilty of it but who  
 either lived unhappily, or came to an untimely end." The gods some-  
 times turned peevish for less weighty reasons than wanton homicide.  
 Soon after the introduction of Christianity into Tongatabu, and be- 776  
 fore it had spread throughout the whole island, Boiboi, the chief of 753  
 a still heathen district, became very ill, and was carried on a stretcher 787  
 to the priest of his god. After a time the priest was seized by the 793  
 convulsive movements which indicated his possession by the deity,  
 and then informed the waiting assembly that the god had been away  
 in a different part of the island at a single-stick match, but had now  
 returned. He had been very angry with Boiboi because the latter  
 used to make an insulting gesture with his eyes, but he was now recon-  
 ciled to him, and the chief would recover. Boiboi honored the dec-  
 laration by an immediate recovery, and rising from the stretcher he  
 went off quite well.

## MANA

### GENERAL REMARKS

Another important conception, shared by the Tongans with their 778  
 neighbors of the Pacific, is that of mana. Whilst tabu inculcates the  
 duty of man towards the occult, mana indicates the mysterious forces  
 in operation. The range covered by this idea is very wide, and there  
 has sometimes been a tendency to dogmatize too positively on the  
 inability of peoples at the Tongan level of culture to conceive abstrac-  
 tions. Mana is rendered in English as a wonder or miracle, and is  
 employed in this sense in the vernacular version of the Bible. It is 821  
 a common word for thunder. An adjective (*mana'ia*) containing 832  
 this root is used of a man who is especially attractive to women. It



girl who saw it told me it was a sign of bad luck, without however 787  
 appearing to attach much importance to the matter. It is not clear 825  
 whether her unconcern was due to her enlightenment, or to indifference to my fate, or to the hope that being a foreigner I should be able to pull through all right.

#### MANA OF MEN AND INSTRUMENTS

These manifestations in the seen world of purposes of the unseen 778  
 world are mana. These are merely a few examples picked up here  
 and there, and doubtless the list could be much extended. But supernatural power may also reside in a tool or weapon and become a mighty instrument in the hand of man. The club or spear of a great 411  
 warrior, for example, is the abode of mana. The club of the chief 778  
 Vahai was so charged with mana that it could not keep still, but was continually agitated by convulsive movements. Vahai kept this formidable weapon wrapped in a mat in his house and on one occasion sent a man to bring it to him. The messenger could see no club, only a bundle of mat agitated by an apparently living body, and returning to the chief told him that the only thing in the house was a child wrapped up in matting. The supposed child was of course none other than the club with its high power mana, and the man was again sent to fetch it.

Mana could be communicated from one person to another. If a weapon in which resided this supernatural force were borrowed the owner laid it across the open palm of the borrower, and then, getting a piece of the stem of the banana tree, rubbed and squeezed it in his own hands, thus expressing the juice. Then he rubbed the banana stem over the weapon and the open hand of the borrower. Vahai, the owner of the club just mentioned, conveyed to another chief, Takai, his own martial courage and prowess by performing a like operation upon his body. In these examples the warrior himself 411  
 would seem to be primarily the source of the mana, thence conveyed 778  
 to the weapons which he victoriously wielded; but from other statements 776  
 it appears that the weapon itself might receive an inspiration of mana direct from the gods. In the account of the voyage of the missionary ship *Duff* weapons are spoken of as placed in temples to

obtain the coveted power: "From this we passed to the other large <sup>411</sup> house which . . . was sacred to the God of Pretane, and in which <sup>778</sup> old Mumui sleeps when indisposed, in hopes of a cure. On the <sup>776</sup> floor were four large conch shells, with which they alarm the country in times of danger: and on the rafters were placed spears, clubs, bows and arrows, to receive from their imaginary deity supernatural virtue, to render them successful against their enemies." The Tongan philosopher was doubtless little troubled by questions as to whether the man gave the weapon the mana or the weapon gave it to the man. Traced to its ultimate source it was ever the gift of the gods.

#### APPARITIONS

The mana was occasionally a mysterious visitor from the other <sup>787</sup> world. As an example it was said that a man might suddenly see the <sup>776</sup> supernatural personage in his boat. The boatman would treat the apparition with the greatest respect, and set off home with as little delay as possible, convinced that some mishap had befallen. The recipient of such a visit would consider it a mark of divine displeasure, and would ask the sprite what wrong he had done, and why he was angry with him.

Mr. Murley's manuscript contains concrete examples of supernatural visitations. In July, 1909, on the night before the death of <sup>[763]</sup> Maecaliuaki, a great chief, at the time governor of Haapai, a man and his wife who were fishing on the island adjoining that on which the sick chief lay at the point of death were much alarmed at the sight of a sailing-boat, brightly illuminated with various colored lights, rapidly approaching from the southeast. This was of course a mana of Maecaliuaki's death. That year of 1909 was fertile in portents and fortunate in chroniclers, for another of Mr. Murley's informants told him that in that same month of July, 1909, a small boy in the island of Niua Foou received a visit from a stranger who asked him if he knew the reason of the frequent earthquakes. The child confessed his ignorance, pleading his extreme youth. With the sinister words, "Then thou wilt know, for in the month of September you people will not be able to eat for something dreadful will occur," the stranger departed as abruptly as he had come. As he turned to go the boy

was startled to see that he had wings. This last touch is probably 787  
 due to the influence of the Bible. Like a wise soothsayer this visitant, 776  
 though so precise with regard to months, allowed himself latitude in  
 years. In September, 1912, there was a volcanic outburst in Niua [133]  
 Fooou, though not very serious and unattended by loss of life. This  
 doubtless is a suitable event to carry the responsibility of the doleful  
 vaticination regarding the month of September.

## DIVINATION

The fact that supernatural forces and beings manifest themselves 787  
 through material agencies would invest with importance the office of 791  
 those who were skilled in reading the signs. One Tongan stated that  
 those who had no god to apply to had recourse to a diviner (*tongafiji*),  
 adding the interesting detail that there was aruspication by examina-  
 tion of the blood of animals. Another said that he thought that each [793]  
 god had his own diviner, but the most trustworthy statements show  
 no evidence of a class of diviners attached to the gods apart from the  
 priests. A certain cowrie shell god used to give indications of his 787  
 will by movements, as by standing up on end. War clubs, presum-  
 ably those kept in the temples, were consulted on the expediency of  
 going to war. If the club shook that was the god giving his vote for  
 war, but if it remained still that was a declaration against the opening  
 of hostilities. Whilst, however, the interpretation of the will of the 787  
 gods was the function of the priests, there were diviners (*tongafiji*) 791  
 who, without being priests or being attached in any special way to a [793]  
 particular god, were able to see what was distant in time and space.  
 The word *kikite* which is used of divination and foretelling seems to  
 contain the same root as the word *kite* which is used of the appear-  
 ance of anything at a distance, particularly of land showing up when  
 one is out at sea. I have not been able to discover that these diviners  
 were reputed to be inspired by any god, but they seem merely to have  
 seen and declared things by some inward light of their own. A  
 rather circumstantial account is preserved of a famous soothsayer  
 named Hema who knew from the island of Eua the progress of a sin-  
 gle-sticks match in Tongatabu in which a local champion was opposed  
 by a mighty fighter from Eua. Hema kept the Eua people posted

## CONCLUSION

However great a wanderer a man may have been during his life-775  
 time it is amongst his own kin that he wishes to sleep his last sleep. 764  
 The gods of a country not his own would resent his being laid in [776]  
 their soil and would attempt to drive him away. The unlucky exile, 602  
 therefore, would appear to his relatives in dreams and upbraid them [828]  
 for their unkind behavior in leaving him to the fury of such persecu-  
 tions, and would probably soon worry them into making the desired  
 transference of his ashes. It can be very rarely, however, that the  
 deceased is driven to these desperate measures, as the Tongan ob-  
 serves the most scrupulous care in the disposal of his dead. There 774  
 is a curious story of one who left his body and visited Bulotu (Para- [772]  
 dise, Hades, Abode of Hikuleo). He was absent some time, and on  
 returning to the spot where he had left his body found that his  
 friends, despairing of his ever again animating it, had buried it.  
 Since then he has wandered a discarnate spirit, known as a god in [776]  
 Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa under the respective names of Fehuluni,  
 Tuihaatala, and Moso; and with this disembodied vagrant we shall  
 for the present leave the subject.

Some acknowledgments of indebtedness have been already made 115  
 in the text, but in closing these notes I desire to acknowledge my  
 special obligations to my friend and colleague the Rev. John Havea,  
 Head Master of the Tubou College in Nukualofa, whose intelligent  
 interest in all that concerns his race, and courteous patience in trying  
 to make it intelligible to the foreigner, have equally made me his  
 debtor.

TUBOU COLLEGE,  
 NUKUALOFA, TONGA.

*A Tongan Theogony.*

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heard, or would have been heard had there been anyone to hear them, and forth leapt a pair of twins, male and female, called Biki and Kele. Again the tremblings and rumblings, and another pair of twins, male and female, Atungake and Maimoalongona, came forth. Again convulsions of nature, followed as before by a portentous birth, this third pair being named Fonu-uta (Land-turtle) and Fonu-vai (Sea-turtle). Once more the rock endured the pangs of labour, and bore the fourth and last pair of twins, Hemoana (Sea-serpent) and Lube (Dove). These being apparently the sole inhabitants of the universe, matrimonial choice could be exercised only within severely restricted limits, but the difficulty was surmounted by each pair of twins setting up house-keeping. And with the happiest results. The union of Biki and Kele was blessed by the birth of a son, Taufulifonua, and later a daughter, Havealolofonua. To Atungake and Maimoalongona was born a daughter, Velelahi, whilst Fonu-uta and Fonu-vai also became the parents of a daughter, Velejii.

As behoved kind and prudent parents, Biki and Kele next addressed themselves to the task of procuring a patrimony for their offspring, and by means unrecorded accomplished the difficult feat of causing to spring up a country called Tonga-mamao (Distant Tonga), to which their children Taufulifonua and Havealolofonua were taken. The brother and sister proved desirable in each other's eyes, and to them was born one of the greatest divinities in the Tongan pantheon, Hikuleo (perhaps Echo, and apparently a female divinity). Naturally enough in the legends of a people whose chiefs commonly had more wives than one, Taufulifonua's love for Havealolofonua was no bar to there being a partner in his affections. Havealolofonua, in fact, is represented as herself going away and seriously depleting the supply of marriageable young ladies by securing the heart and hand of Velelahi for her brother-husband. If a moral breach can ever be excused by results, this bigamous transaction should certainly be condoned, for Velelahi became the mother of a tribe of deities known throughout Polynesia, the Tangaloa, of whom there seem to have been five. The eldest Tangaloa rejoiced in the unwieldy but euphonious name of

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539 Tama-bouli-kae-ala-mafoa (Darkness heralding the Dawn).  
 776 The next was called Tangaloa-eiki (Tangaloa the Chief). After  
 [171] him came Eitumatubua; the fourth was Tangaloa-tufunga  
 (Tangaloa the Craftsman), and the youngest Tangaloa-atu-  
 longo-longo.

[643] The chiefs of Tonga are of divine lineage, and the link between  
 god and chief is supplied by Eitumatubua, who was the father  
 of Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga, or supreme sacred chief of  
 Tonga.

539 After this happy issue of her match-making efforts the  
 faithful and public-spirited Havealolofonua sought and obtained  
 the remaining marriageable maiden amongst her contemporaries,  
 Velejii, as a partner for Biki, and of this new union sprang  
 another famous line of gods, the Maui—Maui-motua, Maui-buku,  
 and Maui-atulanga, who in his turn became the father of a son,  
 Maui-kijikiji, though deponent knoweth not who was the  
 mother of the latter youth. Maui-kijikiji, though he enjoys the  
 reputation of having been a reprobate young rascal, wrought  
 for mortals a priceless work by breaking down the divine  
 monopoly in fire and securing its use to us lesser dwellers on  
 earth.

Taufulifonua and Havealolofonua, having now the oversight  
 of so numerous a family, bestirred themselves to apportion  
 habitations for the various groups. To the Tangaloas was  
 assigned the sky, to the Maui's were allotted dwellings under  
 the earth, Hemoana's sphere was the sea, Lube's the land and  
 forest, and to Hikuleo was granted the Tongan paradise, Bulotu.  
 A sore restriction, however, was placed upon Hikuleo, though  
 with benevolent intent, for any place which she might visit  
 was doomed to sure destruction. To prevent, therefore, such  
 calamitous peregrinations the goddess was bound by a great  
 rope, of which one end was held by the Tangaloas in the sky,  
 and the other by the Maui's under the earth.

In course of time Tangaloa-atulongolongo determined on a  
 visit to earth, so going down he entered into a snipe, but, like  
 a better known bird, this winged wanderer found no rest for  
 the sole of his foot, but water everywhere. Appearances,  
 however, were not wholly discouraging, as one small spot showed



39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)  
1974 OU9 Tonga OIJ9

532 Tongan art by western or contemporary standards, as has so often been done; it should rather be viewed in terms of the complex social and cultural matrix from which it sprang.

Wood being the main medium used long ago, wood craftsmanship and carving in the form of canoes, houses, war clubs, spears, paddles, kava bowls, statues and wooden "headrest" pillows became a polished art in the Tongan society, performed only by highly specialized artisans called *tufunga*, whose skills were most often transmitted

[771] by heredity. As religion was a major facet of life, the  
[776] Tongans had a god as a patron for each category of artistic activity. Thus, art reflected their system of religious beliefs, values and rituals, as well as their extremely structured socio-political organization.

The traditional Tongan house, similar to that of

[A. 9-C]

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39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)  
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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776 Early Tongans lived in a polytheistic world that  
773 was created and maintained by gods (*'otua*), and in  
fact, many of the ancient songs and legends tell of  
the gods, as well as of heroes who became deified  
771 after death.<sup>12</sup> Tongan religious organization in  
pre-contact times and before the introduction of  
western morality was highly complex and very  
intricate in terms of internal structure.

775 Pulumotu, the abode of the gods and Tonga's site of  
the hereafter, was a mythical island which some  
believed lay at an unknown distance to the  
northwest of Tonga, while others believed it lay  
beneath Tonga and had an entrance under a large  
stone or cluster of reeds. There dwelt the principal

[565]  
[774]

[p. 39-B]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)  
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

793 people, rather than blaming the priest, assumed that  
781 the god had merely changed his mind or had  
787 purposely deceived the priest.<sup>16</sup> There were  
reportedly also times when gods or spirits visited  
and inspired persons other than priests.<sup>17</sup>

776 Every family clan in early Tonga was under the  
613 guardianship or protection of a god. At times, a god  
825 took possession of an animal or object in order to  
776 communicate a message to human beings. Some of  
[262] the living representatives used in this way by the  
[182] gods included the shark, octopus, sea eel, quail,  
lizard and flying fox;<sup>18</sup> this explains why certain  
species of animals were considered sacred in the past  
and thus, were not killed and eaten without a  
portion first being offered to the gods.

[141-B]

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Flying Foxes in early Tonga were, at times, inhabited by gods. Even today, flying foxes retain much of their sanctity and are considered to be tapu. Here they hang from an ironwood tree at Kolovai, where they are plentiful.

Na'e toe pehe tokua na'e nofo ha ngaahi laumalie pe 'otua kehekehe 'i he fanga paka. A'u ki he ngaahi 'aho ni 'oku kai tapu pe 'a e paka 'i Tonga. Ko e ta eni 'o e fanga paka 'i he 'ulu toa 'i Kolovai.

[p 42A]

771 spiritual development, as represented by their old religion, was low. Their pantheon was a medley, and their theology unredeemed by any gleams of philosophy as in the religion of India.

776 2. The gods of Tonga may be divided into three classes.

779 (1) In common with other parts of Polynesia, their great gods comprise the two groups of the Tangaloa and the Maui (pronounced Mow-y: Mow as in *now*). The Tangaloa were the earlier group, and consisted of Tangaloa 'Eiki ('Lord Tangaloa, or 'Tangaloa the Elder'), Tangaloa Tufunga ('Tangaloa the Smith, Carpenter, or Artificer,' who made axes and built canoes), and Tangaloa 'Atulogolongo ('Tangaloa the Sender-forth-of-sound'). The Maui group consisted of five persons: Mani Motu'a ('Old Maui,' or 'Mani the Father'), Maui Loa ('Maui the Tall'), Maui Buku ('Maui the Short'), and Maui 'Atalanga ('Maui the Vigorous Planter'). This last had a son called Mani Kijikiji (pronounced Kitsikiti: 'Mani the Violent, the Mischievous'), who was, of course, the grandson of Maui Motu'a.

There were, however, older gods than any of these. One was called Tama-bo'uli-ala-mafao ('Son-of-the-Darkness-that-can-have-a-dawn'). Some accounts represent him as the original deity. Another of the primitive gods was 'Eitu-matubu'a ('Eitu-of-the-older-time'). He is spoken of as the father of the Tongan people. Another of these gods was Hikule'o, the Tongan Satan. *Hikule'o* means 'the echo,' and there is no doubt that this was the original signification of the name; but as it might mean 'Watching Tail,' the legend grew up that the tail of this deity was so long that when he, the god, went about, the tail kept watch at home. But even now the Tongans, when they hear an echo, say it is Hikule'o walking in the woods; and the other explanation was evidently an afterthought.

[822] These with others were the original gods of Tonga. By and by a division of departments took place. To the Tangaloa was assigned the Sky (or Heaven); to the Maui group the Under World; and to Hikule'o the World and Bulotu (Hades). But in order to keep Hikule'o in his place, as he was a god that delighted in mischief, a cord was attached to him, one end of which was held by Tangaloa in the sky, and the other by a Maui in the under world, to prevent his leaving Bulotu to damage the world. This division was effected by an older god than any, namely, Tanfulifonua ('Frequent-Upsetter-of-the-land'), who also assigned the sea to Hemoana, and the woods and dry land generally to Lube (the Dove). Hemoana's name is sometimes pronounced Heimoana, and the present writer believes that Tongavalevale spoke of him as Hea-Moana, though he is unable to speak positively on that point. *Hea-Moana* would signify 'Hea-of-the-deep-sea'; *Hemoana* would be simply 'the Deep Sea' = Oceanus. His shrine was the banded sea-snake. These were the Olympian gods of Tonga; but, with the exception of Hikule'o, they were rarely worshipped, and few if any temples were erected in their honour. The exception is due to the fact that Hikule'o was a mischievous god, and must therefore be propitiated.

[778] (2) The second class of gods were an inferior race, who had their shrines in animals, birds, fishes, trees, whales' teeth, clubs, and even stones. Yet these were the gods worshipped by the people, and their temples were to be found in every village.

[782] Here are a few of them: Tu'i 'Ahaui ('King of the town of 'Ahaui'), whose shrine was a volcanic stone of peculiar shape; Tu'i Lalotonga ('King of Rarotonga,' or perhaps of the world below Tonga), whose shrine was the dragon-fly; Taliai Tubou (the god of the reigning dynasty while yet heathen),

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tonga,' or perhaps of the world below Tonga),  
whose shrine was the dragon-fly; Taliai Tubou  
(the god of the reigning dynasty while yet heathen),

776 whose shrine was a shark [Mariner renders *Taliai*  
778 *Tubou* by 'Wait there, Tubou,' which is certainly  
779 incorrect; *Taliai* *Tubou* was probably the name of  
a king); *Bulota* *Katoa* (the *Pleroma* of the Spirit  
World, who presided over hurricanes, and agri-  
culture), whose shrine, we think, was a tree at  
*Kolonga* [Mariner mentions several the present  
writer has never heard of: *Tubou* *Toutai* ('*Tubou*  
the Mariner'; *Tubou* is the familiar designation  
of the king, and one of his family is usually called  
*Tubou* *Toutai*); *Hala'evalu* ('Eight Ways'; also  
the name of a chief); '*Ala'alo* ('the Fanner'), the  
god of wind and weather, rain, harvest, and  
vegetation; *Tu'i* *Bulota* ('King of the Spirit  
World')]. Other gods resided in the turtle, the  
cuttle-fish, the kingfisher, etc. *Fonokitangata's*  
shrine was a war-club. These were, so to speak,  
the private gods of the people, and the shrine of  
each was *tabu* to its worshippers. Thus the people  
of *Te'ekiu* were forbidden to eat the octopus, that  
being the shrine of their god. In the neighbouring  
villages, however, it would be freely eaten. In  
*Nomuka* one particular family were thus debarred  
from eating turtle, while the rest of the town were  
free to partake of that delicacy.

784 (3) In addition to these there were a number of  
779 supernatural beings whose position in the Tongan  
779 pantheon is not clear. They were looked upon as  
gods, and the term expressive of highest deity was  
applied to them; but they were never worshipped,  
nor were temples built to them. On the contrary,  
they were looked upon with contempt, and their  
foibles freely portrayed and laughed at. It is  
curious to see these ascriptions of high divinity  
and expressions of contempt standing side by side.  
Is it that these were the gods of the inferior race  
which the Tongans found in the group when they  
landed?

776 Take an instance or two. *Jiji* and *Faiga'a* were two goddesses  
773 in this class, who had set their affections on a Tongan of great  
779 masculine beauty called *Bajikola*. He, tired of their attentions,  
plaited two large baskets of cocoa-nut leaves, put one goddess in  
each and, shouldering them like a Chinaman, conveyed them  
into the bush, and hung them on the branch of a tree, and left  
them there for two years, until the baskets rotted, and they  
fell to the ground. They made another attempt on his affec-  
tions, and he finally got rid of them by inveigling them into his  
fish traps, and leaving them at the bottom of the sea, where  
they lay until *Tangaloa* took pity on them, and sent a god to  
release them. Take another instance. In this case also it was  
two goddesses, who set out to meet a mortal lover. While  
waiting for him, they took off their heads to dress their  
hair. Suddenly his footsteps were heard, and they put their  
heads on again; but in the hurry one of them put hers on hind  
before; and when she attempted to move, her face went one  
way and her legs another. It is extremely puzzling to meet  
with tales like these, referring to those to whom the titles of  
highest deity are given; and yet, after all, they do but recall  
the vagaries of the Olympian deities as described by Homer,  
when

'Unextinguished laughter shook the skies.'

769 On the subject of ancestor-worship, Mariner  
779 speaks positively (vol. ii. p. 97): 'That there  
are other *Hotoas* or gods, viz. the souls of all  
deceased nobles and *matabooles*.' The present  
writer was disposed to agree with him at first,  
especially as it was a custom of the people to go  
to the cemeteries to pray, even after a sacrifice  
had been presented at the temple. But further  
inquiry has convinced him that they did so because  
they fancied themselves nearer the spirit-world in  
such places. Intelligent chiefs like *Valu*, who  
were acquainted with heathenism, are equally  
positive in the other direction, and deny that they  
looked upon the spirits of deceased chiefs as gods.  
We think the truth lies between the two state-  
ments, and that Mariner himself gives us a key to  
the solution of the question. In vol. i. p. 378, he  
speaks of *Feenow* as being frequently inspired by  
the spirit of *Mumui* (a late king of Tonga). Now  
we can readily understand that in such circum-  
stances *Feenow* would pray to *Mumui*, and others  
would join him; so that in time *Mumui* would be



769 looked upon as a god. This would account for  
776 such gods as Tu'i Lalotonga, Tu'i 'Aha'u, Taliai  
779 Tubou, and others. All the inquiries of the present  
writer negative the assertion that the spirits of  
chiefs as a general thing became gods. We may  
then look upon the gods of the first class as primi-  
tive, brought by the Tongans from their original  
home, and the third class as the gods of the  
aboriginals whom they conquered. The second  
class contained also some primitive gods, but was  
recruited largely from the spirits of ancestors—i.e.  
the spirits of certain deceased chiefs by whom  
kings and notable personages fancied themselves  
to have been possessed.

778 The other point the present writer made special  
776 inquiries about was whether the Tongans wor-  
779 shipped the clubs, whales' teeth, animals, trees,  
stones, etc., before which they placed their offer-  
[782] ings, or the god who was supposed to be tempo-  
rarily residing in them. The answer was decisive.  
The clubs, trees, etc., were simply the *vaka*, the  
god itself was spiritual. *Vaka* signifies a 'mode  
of conveyance,' usually a canoe, but also a carriage,  
or anything by which one is conveyed from place  
to place.

776 Probably we may see here a development of their  
779 spiritual ideas. The oldest class—Tangaloa, Maui,  
Hemoana—were undoubtedly corporeal. Their  
bodies performed all the functions of human bodies,  
[178] and they were inflamed with human passions. But  
the Tongans had long ceased to pray to them, and  
scarcely any vestiges of their worship remained  
when the missionaries came. The third class of  
gods, too, were corporeal, but there are no signs of  
[178] worship being paid them at any time. These two  
classes existed side by side; but long before the  
introduction of Christianity both had been dis-  
carded as objects of worship, which was paid only  
to the second class. In other words, the Tongans  
had worked out a theology, which had, at any rate,  
this noble feature in it, that God was a spirit, and  
they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit.

192 The general Tongan term for supernatural beings is *fa'ahihē*.  
776 This is often shortened into *fa'ahi*, and when the adjective *lahi*  
779 ('great') is added—*fa'ahi lahi*—the idea conveyed is that of full  
[114] deity. *fa'ahi* signifies properly 'a party,' 'a side' (as in cricket);  
or it may be short for *fa'ahihē*—'kind,' 'class,' 'race,' 'species,'  
'genus.' *Ehe* = 'other' (frever not *ā*), so *fa'ahihē* is 'dif-  
ferent folk,' 'other kind of people.' The usual word for 'God' is  
*'Otua*. Mariner spells it *Hetoo*, but there is no *h* in it. The  
inverted comma represents a guttural, a half *h*, which is one of  
the difficulties of the language. It is not readily recognized by  
the European ear, and is mostly neglected by foreigners, while  
being as intractable as the *Ayin* in Hebrew. The present writer  
has failed to find any derivation for *'Otua*, or meaning other  
than 'God,' and believes it to be a primitive Polynesian word.  
In some parts of the Pacific it appears as *A'ua*.

The other great word is *'Eiki* = 'Lord,' which is used as in  
English for both earthly and heavenly lords. Hence it is not so  
high a term as *'Otua*. Indeed it seems sometimes to mean only  
'supernatural.' Thus a corpse is called *ha'ua'aka'aka*, which  
apparently signifies 'a thing belonging to the spirit world.' Pro-  
bably Mariner was thinking of this when he said (vol. ii. p. 130):  
[114] 'The human soul after its separation from the body is termed  
[769] *hetoo*, i.e. a god or spirit.' He is certainly wrong in that state-  
ment. It is clear that *'eiki* was not the original form of the  
word, which the laws of the language point out to have been  
*ihē*.

776 We must not pass over the fact that the members  
779 of one of the dynasties of kings were regarded as  
gods. This was the earliest line of kings, and their  
title was *Tu'i Tonga* ('King of Tonga'). They were  
certainly looked upon as in some sense divine  
beings; and instances are on record of prayers  
being offered to them. Words applied only to the  
gods were used in addressing them; such as *'Ei*,  
643 already referred to, *ha'e*, and *'afo*, used of the  
195 movements of deity. The face of the *Tu'i Tonga*  
was termed the 'sky,' and to him, as the repre-  
sentative of the gods, were presented the 'first-  
fruits.' This ceremony, called the '*ina*ji,' or 'por-  
tion,' is described by Mariner (vol. ii. p. 100). When  
[764] *Tu'i Tonga* died, he was said to be 'missing'  
(*hala*), and he was buried in a *siggant*, or pyrami-

## out the Folk Tales

643 all. In similar positions of sovereignty were the Pharaohs  
[171] of Egypt and the Dalai Lama of Tibet.

771 As polytheism prevailed during these times, it was  
182 the many different gods who were responsible for  
creating and maintaining social relationships within  
the society; for the system of taboos (enforced by the  
gods or fear of the gods), which were early Tonga's  
informal means of social control, kept law and order.

[538] The extent of the influence of the gods on Tongan  
thinking is revealed in the folk tales: "Son of the Sun,"  
"Crying Princess," "Daughter of a Clam," and "Rainbow  
and Her Daughter."

643 Since the *Tu'i Tonga* was believed to be a direct  
776 descendant of the gods, he was himself regarded as a  
771 god; in effect, the *Tu'i Tonga* was the gods' representa-  
643 tive on earth. Thus, a series of rituals, taboos and myths  
771 were associated with the *Tu'i Tonga's* position. His wish  
was law; furthermore, his possessions and his person  
were so sacred that they were not to be touched by  
any unauthorized person without the threat of severe  
[538] punishment, probably death. The paramount superi-  
ority ascribed to the *Tu'i Tonga* is noted in "Prohibi-  
tions Ignored," "Son of the Sun," and "Tukunga  
Kautā."

775 Tonga's underworld, called Pulotu, was the abode  
565

[p. 9-B]

# MACHIKO AOYAGI

Those kinsmen who help and are invited vary according to the scale of *fakaafe*. For example, 16 gave one of the biggest *fakaafe*. Those who gathered for cooking on this occasion were his half brother (24), his mother's half brother (28) with his son (23), his father's father's brother (22), his wife's brother (15), and 21's daughter's husband, between whom and 16 the relationship was not clear. They all belong to the Free Wesleyan Church except 15 and 21's daughter's husband, who are Mormons. The villagers stress that the feast is offered to the God, not for themselves, and they know that the feast is under the prescription of the church. The privilege of giving the feast is conferred by the steward, who also selects *malanga* to be invited, but those who help and attend it are not necessarily the same sect members. In case of 2, a member of the Free Church of Tonga, he invited his mother's sister's sons with their wives (33) and 9's daughter of twelve years old, all of whom are Catholic, and his daughter with her husband (8), members of the Free Wesleyan Church. He invited no one except *malanga* from his own church. Mutual help among relatives is still found on such an occasion of religious character. Yet, this does not mean that those who participate are selected on the basis of *famili* or *famili* organisation. There seems no particular rule for selecting the participants.

On the last day of *uika lotu* (a prayer week in the beginning of the new year), Pualiki gave one of the biggest feasts in the name of his second son. Eighteen pigs and more than twenty chickens were cooked for this feast, and over twenty men helped the *famili* yin preparation. Pualiki was helped by one or two men each from 14, 10, 1 (his sons' households), 34, 18, 31 (his brothers' households), 7, 6, 20, 23 (the households of his mother's relations); four men from 4 (the household of his father's relation); three men from 9 (the household not related).

It is difficult from this list to determine which side of his relations helped him more.

## Land Use

According to Tongan law, every male Tongan on reaching sixteen years of age, is entitled to receive a grant of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  acres as *api tukuhau* and 1 rood 24 perches as *api kolo*. But the actual circumstance is not always in accord with the law. Even in Nukuleka, which is the Government Estate, only 21 men over sixteen years of age have *api tukuhau*, while 28 have not. Among the 28 men, there are those who are not married or, even if married, are still living with their father or wife's father or elder brother who have *api tukuhau* in the same households. The remaining 11 men out of the 28 keep nevertheless their own independent households. The following are the relations from whom these 11 men borrow part of *api tukuhau* for cultivating: father; mother (she has received it from her second husband); mother's half brother; grandfather and his brothers; father's mother's sister's son; the third cousin; wife's father; wife's mother; wife's brother and her sister's husband; one who is not related; Catholic Church.

It is evident that all except two men borrow the land from their *famili* or wife's *famili*. *Famili* members should help each other. They

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## TONGAN RELIGION

[179

and one of the Daughters lives at Hammoah, or Vaughwaugh, Latouleboula the son and the other Daughter at Tongatabu; the latter is she who is mentioned to have dined with me on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June. They were both frequently with us, but never appeared to be persons of consequence nor property. Latouleboula was looked upon by his country men as a Mad man, and many of his actions shewed they were not mistaken. At Middleburg I was shewed a good deal of land said to belong to him, and I saw there a son of his, a child, that they called by the same title as the father. The Son of the greatest Prince in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little brat was.

Not only the King, but most of the great men have a kind of Levy every morning, but the chief purpose of these meetings is to drink Cava, or Kava, which one of the company treats the others with. It is generally, if not always prepared by the servants or toutous; the first cup is brought to the principal person, who for the most part orders it to be given to a nother, the second is then brought him, which he drinks. Then as the others are filled, the person who fills them asks who is to have it and the person who gives the treat names the person and so it continues till the bowl is emptied. It is served out by the servants, who sit down when they deliver the cup, unless it be a meeting of inferior chiefs, than this ceremony is not observed, but great order is always kept up.

Of the Religion of these people, I know little more than what has been occasionally mentioned. Their principles and notions, nearly agree with the people of Otaheite; they acknowledge the influence of superior beings, one of whom is supreme and the rest subordinate. The supreme being I have heard called by different names; the King called him Fattasee, and said that when he was angry he destroyed the produce of the land by giving them no rain, the fish of the sea and punishes them with death, but when he was pleased he gave them health, long life and every thing in plenty, and this seem'd to be all they either feared or expected.<sup>1</sup> I think I may venture to assert that

*fahu* to his children. The complications and proliferations were endless, but enough has been said to explain the anomaly of the sacred king doing homage to others who were not kings, but merely sacred. For Paulaho, both Moungalakapa his niece, and Latunipulu his nephew, were *fahu*. The niece, the female, indeed, was more *fahu* than the nephew: to Moungalakapa the king did obeisance, and in her presence could not eat; in Latunipulu's presence he could not eat, but did not do him obeisance.

<sup>1</sup> Tongan religion is a difficult subject indeed. There were many differences between Tongan and Tahitian notions; for instance, the generally important Polynesian gods Tane, Tu and Rongo did not appear on the Tongan scene. But Tangaroa or Tangaloa did, and it was he who fished up the Tongan islands out of the sea. He fathered the first Tu'i Tonga, Aho'eitu, by a Tongan woman called Ilaheva—and hence perhaps the semi-divine Paulaho's reference to him as Fatafehi. But the distinctive Tongan principal god, shared with Samoa but no other Polynesian island, was Hikuleo; he and the other gods or

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[1777]

## Resolution AND Discovery

[July

782 they do not worship any thing that is the work of their own hands, nor any visible part of the creation. They do not make offerings of Hogs, Dogs and Fruit as at Otaheite, unless it be emblematical as their Morais are perfectly free from every thing of the kind; but that they offer real human sacrifices is with me not a doubt. Their Morias or 346 Afiatoucas, for they are called by both names, but mostly by the 764 latter, are as at Otaheite and many other parts of the world, a burying ground and a place of worship, though there are some that seemed to be only appropriated to the first, but these are small and in every other respect inferior to the others.

764 As we never saw a funeral, I can give no account of the ceremony used on that occasion. We only know that the dead are buried in these Morias, probably in something like vaults, or as Omai called them (who was with me when I made the enquiry) stone coffens.<sup>1</sup>

128 I shall conclude my observations on these islands and people with giving some account of the Astronomical and Nautical observations that were made during our stay among them. And first I must observe that the difference of Longitude between Anamocka Latitude and and Tongatabu, is less by than in the Chart Longitude and Narrative of my last voyage; an error that might easily arrise, as the longitude of each was found without any conection with the other, but now the distance between them is determined to a degree of precision that will not admit of the least error; and which the following table will illustrate.

131 The Latitude of the observatory at Tongatabu }  
by the mean of several observations }

777 \*<sup>1</sup> (numerous ones—district gods, lineage gods and family gods) dwelt in a region in the west called Pulotu, to which the souls of chiefs and *matapule* made their way; but commoners came, as it were, to a dead end. They have a very Gentlemanlike notion of a future State, they firmly believe that Woweatooa never troubles himself about any one but the Eggees or *Gentlemen* but when they are dead they rot & return to earth & there is an end of them.—Bayly, 17 May. King, 5 July, has something to add. 'My friend Fattafai' he did me the honour to appear much affect'd during the time I was packing up the observatory, he with earnestness prest me to stay, & told me that he woud build a large house on the point w[h]ere our observatories stood, & that I should observe the heavens in peace. It should be observ'd, that when these people gave any opinion as to the use of the clocks & other instruments & the reason of our observing, they always supposed the Clock to be an Eatōōa (God) & that we were performing religious ceremonies to the Sun Moon & [c]; many of these notions of theirs were rather countenanc'd, as it was surely better to leave them with ideas of our having some religion than none at all & it is too true, that no other part of our conduct or way of spending our time, could furnish them with the smallest reason to suppose we had any Religion, indeed many of them woud ask who & what was our God, which we endeavourd to answer by saying he was theirs as well as our God, & corresponded with an opinion of their own of one Omnipotent being: the little we were able to learn concerning their religious tenets shall be referred to another place.'

<sup>1</sup> The interpretation of 'stone coffens' as vaults is of course correct; but Cook might have omitted his 'something like'. They were indubitable vaults.



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[May

133 whole might supply the imagination with an idea of some fairy land  
 [137] realiz'd. It would appear that some of these places may be form'd after  
 the manner we have suppos'd of Palmerstons Island, as there is one  
 which as yet is entirely sand and another that has only one bush or  
 tree. Indeed the appearance of Annamooka in general argues also  
 such a mode of formation, did not its height persuade us that the sea  
 has either made a very sudden recess or that it has begun to do so at a  
 period so remote as scarcely to coincide with the date of the Creation.

114 At five in the evening we had reach'd Kotoo the most N<sup>w</sup>esterly  
 133 of the low islands, a little beyond which is a shoal or reef on which the  
 sea breaks all around. On passing it we were about two leagues from  
 Toofôa, the smoke of which we had seen several times in the day  
 131 though it had now almost ceas'd. This island is about ten leagues NNW  
 162 from Anna'mooka and though according to the natives but thinly  
 312 inhabited has good water. They call the Volcano upon it Kolloo'feea<sup>1</sup>  
 and say it is an O'tooa or divinity, about which they seem to have  
 133 some superstitious notions. They say it sometimes throws up very  
 823 large stones and compare the Crater to the size of a small islet, which  
 103 has never ceas'd smoaking in their memory nor have they any  
 176 tradition that it ever did. We now haul'd our wind and stood ESE  
 towards the islands already mention'd which form here almost a  
 114 semicircle. At six were about two miles from the shore of one of the  
 largest call'd Ma'toogoo,<sup>2</sup> when we sound'd and had ground with 55  
 fathom a fine black sandy bottom, and soon after nearly the same  
 water with a coarser white sand. We then tack'd and stood back  
 having for half an hour between 50 and 60 fathom, when we brought  
 to with the main-topsail to the mast for some time & afterwards stood  
 126 on to the westward. A great many Egg birds and flying fish were seen  
 in the passage to day, and it was observ'd that after sailing in the  
 morning a tide or current from the westward set us much over  
 towards the islands on the right.

132 THURSDAY 15<sup>th</sup>. Therm. 72½:73:74½:77:75:74½. Light airs of wind  
 from the S<sup>w</sup>ard and frequently quite calm with very fine weather.  
 114 The sea perfectly smooth. Between twelve and one in the morning we  
 tack'd and stood eastward keeping close haul'd to pass to the South-  
 133 ward of Fotoohââ which is the Island next Kâo. At day light were  
 103 not far from the last place, which is a vast rock of a conic figure with  
 marks on its sides as if made by torrents rushing down. After passing

<sup>1</sup> The name of the volcano is Lofia. *Ko* is the nominative article. Lofia seems also to have been the name of the 'etua or god who dwelt within the crater, throwing up fire and smoke and stones.

<sup>2</sup> Matuku.



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ANDERSON'S JOURNAL

[July

784 enter'd by the people, the Ceremony call'd Natche was Taboo'd to  
 [764] all but those assisting in it, and in short it is the common expression  
 [65] when any thing is not to be touch'd, unless the transgressor will risque  
 some very severe punishment as appears from the great apprehension  
 they have of approaching any thing prohibited by it. In some cases  
 784 it appears to resemble the Levitical law of purification, for we have  
 764 seen several women who were not allow'd the use of their hands in  
 264 eating but were fed by other people. On enquiring the reason of it at  
 one time they said that one of the women had wash'd the dead body  
 of the chief already mentiond who died at Tonga, and another who  
 had assisted was in the same predicament, though then a month  
 784 after the circumstance happen'd. It also serves as a temporary law or  
 262 edict of their chiefs, for-sometimes certain articles of food are laid  
 101 under the restriction, and there are other circumstances regulated in  
 the same manner as trading &c when it is thought necessary to stop  
 it; nay it is probable that the additional word taboo to the name of  
 the island which is simply Tonga has been added from this very  
 custom as expressing its singularity.

784 From the extent and rigid severity with which some of these  
 [775] mourning and religious ceremonys are executed one would expect to  
 find they think it would secure them felicity in a future life, or some  
 other material good, which is really the case but it relates to things  
 merely temporal, for they seem to have little conception of future  
 punishment for faults comitted in this life. They however believe  
 that they are justly so on earth and consequently use every method  
 to avoid or rather not to deserve the punishment annex'd to them.

776 The supreme Author of most things they call Kalla foo'tonga<sup>1</sup> who  
 [821] they say is a female, resides in the skys and directs the thunder,  
 [821] winds, rain and some other things that seem to proceed from thence.  
 [753] They alledge that when she is angry with them the productions of  
 [761] the earth are blasted in consequence of it, many things are destroyed  
 by lightning, and they themselves are afflicted with sickness & death  
 as well as hogs & other animals—evils so great to them that it is no  
 wonder they should endeavour to avert them by all the means in their  
 power. When this anger abates every thing is restor'd to its natural  
 order and it would appear they think it a consequence of their  
 776 endeavours to appease it. They have no representation of this  
 778 divinity, who they say is invisible, but there is little doubt that they  
 pay that adoration due to their ideas of her power and perfection,  
 though not discoverable from any particular external posture that

<sup>1</sup> Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 289-90) thinks this goddess was properly named Calla  
 [?Kala] Filatonga, but otherwise cannot identify her.

1777]

## TONGAN RELIGION

[949

denotes local worship. The Malaees are however doubtless public places for that purpose, as their solemn rites are perform'd there, and their superiority with respect to situation and extent which far exceeds any of their private habitations argues; besides there can be no other reasonable conjecture offer'd about the persons who pronounce'd the orations in performing the Natche & the two that began the same thing when we first went with Poulaho, than that they were no other than priests and at that time absolutely preferring some petition to this invisible being. The next part of their creed is a belief in the plurality of deities, though all inferior to this one, amongst whom they mention Toofooa boolootoo<sup>1</sup> god of the clouds and fogg, Talle te'boo<sup>2</sup> and some others residents of the heavens. The first in rank and power, who has the government of the sea and its productions, is call'd Footo'fooa<sup>3</sup> who they say is a male and has for wife Fykava ka'jeea,<sup>4</sup> and here as in heaven there are several inferior ones as Va'hää-fonooa;<sup>5</sup> Tarecava;<sup>6</sup> Matta'ba-E'varoo<sup>7</sup> &c. The same religious system does not however extend all over the cluster of isles; for the supreme god of Hapae for instance is call'd Alo Alo,<sup>8</sup> and other isles have two or three of different names, but their notions of the power and other attributes of these beings would be reckond erroneous with us, as they suppose that after death they have no farther concern with them.

They have however very proper notions of the immateriality and immortality of the soul. They call it life, the living principle or what is more agreeable to their notions of it an O'tooa,<sup>9</sup> divinity or invisible being, and say that immediately on death that of their chiefs seperates from the body and goes to a place calls 'Boolootoo,<sup>10</sup> the chief or god of which is Gooleho.<sup>11</sup> This Gooleho seems synonymous with our Death, for all (even you & the men of Feejee speaking to us) say they are subject to the power and dominion of Gooleho. They feign that this country was never seen by any person, is to the westward beyond Feejee<sup>12</sup> (from whence one might suppose it is the most distant land they know, as many nations have plac'd their heaven in such a

<sup>9</sup> This shows that their notions of distance & duration extend but a little way as they suppose an everlasting place may be on the globe.

<sup>1</sup> Probably this is the same as Mariner's 'Too'i foom Bolootoo'—Tu'i fua Pulotu, 'Chief of all Pulotu'—Pulotu being the afterworld.

<sup>2</sup> Taliaitupou, the god of the Tu'i Kanokupolu; also god of war.

<sup>3</sup> This god eludes me, even though 'first in rank and power'.

<sup>4</sup> Faikavakisia, elsewhere said to be male.

<sup>5</sup> Fakafanua, or Tu'i Haa Fakafanua.

<sup>6</sup> Taliafa?

<sup>7</sup> Matapa'i-valu?

<sup>8</sup> Aloalo was 'God of wind and weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation in general', says Mariner, II, p. 107. His sanctuary was in Lifuka.

<sup>9</sup> Ota.

<sup>10</sup> Pulotu.

<sup>11</sup> Hikuleo.

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641 even to a much greater degree than is practis'd by us on the most  
621 interesting and serious occasions, and whatever may have been the  
subject of the speech we have never seen any instance of their  
shewing signs of displeasure or that seemd to dispute the commands it  
gave. Nay, such is the force of these verbal laws that I have seen an  
instance of a chief seeming astonish'd at a person acting contrary to  
such orders, though it appeard the poor man could not possibly have  
been informd in time to have observ'd them.

421 There is no where a more evident division of property and perhaps  
565 few places where it is better secur'd; for it is plain from the method of  
furnishing a certain quota on particular occasions, which has been  
mentiond before, that the superior ranks are by no means entitled  
to what part they please of the property of those who have any.  
Whether they have a power to levy these contributions where they  
please is uncertain, but it would appear the quantitys are limited and  
that at one time is not very considerable. In countrys where the laws  
are not recorded customs that have been long establish'd are of equal  
force, and under the sanction of these the people of Tonga are prob-  
ably as secure, at least with respect to property, as they would wish  
for: though the chiefs may punish accidental offences on those  
immediately depending on them with the severity already mentioned,  
we have no reason to believe that they can seize any other persons  
property rapaciously or break through the establish'd customs of the  
(651) country with impunity. They have frequently possessions in other  
[101] islands from whence they draw tribute; at least we know it is so with  
respect to the King, who at certain establishd times orders that of the  
other isles to be brought to Tonga, which is not only the common  
place of his residence but seemingly of all the people of consequence  
amongst these isles, who in common conversation call it a land of  
chiefs while the others are distinguishd by the appellation of lands of  
servants or villains.

643 These chiefs, of whom we have heard of several popular ones  
[55] besides those mentioned, are by the people styld not only Lords of the  
[716] earth but of the sun & sky, and the King assumes the name of  
Futafaihe from a god of that name who is probably the patron of his  
family.<sup>1</sup> His peculiar earthly title is however simply Tooe Tonga,  
and though some of the more potent chiefs are perhaps little inferior  
to him in point of actual possessions, they fall very far short in rank  
and the particular marks of respect the collective body have agreed  
[304] to pay him. It is a particular mark of his sovereignty that he is

<sup>1</sup> He was supposed to be descended from a god called Fatafahi—hence his peculiarly  
sacred nature or semi-divinity.

[1777]

## APPENDIX III

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58/ & many young women were impregnable, & I am pretty well convinced  
837 that the daughters of the Principal Chiefs did not at all appear, Perhaps  
152 from a dread of that terrible distemper which we have given them.

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437 Religion. The religious tenets of a new people must always be the most  
565 difficult part to elucidate, superstition appears in such a variety of forms,  
164 as to make, with our little knowledge of their Language, their religion a  
121 very confus'd heap of nonsense; but as this is very interesting, we en-  
175 deavour'd to learn something satisfactory on this head. They appear to  
771 have little conception of future punishments & rewards; but as they believe  
[775] they shall be punish'd in this World for crimes committ'd, they use every  
[673] method not to deserve it. Their Supreme being is a female as they relate,  
175 that commands the Skies, the Thunder & Lightning, & that in her dis-  
771 pleasure she destroys their Country, their hogs, & inflicts them with  
776 diseases; We could not perceive that they had any external representation  
[793] of this invisible supreme being, but we judg'd that a good deal of what we  
[184] heard at the Natche were prayers address'd to her by the Priest. They  
believe a Plurality of Gods, all inferior to the first; some preside over the  
Clouds & fogs, some over the Sea &c, &c & diff<sup>t</sup> Islands have different  
religions.<sup>1</sup>

175 They have juster Ideas of the immortality & immateriality of the Soul:  
775 they call it Otooa a divinity or invisible being, & say that on the death of  
772 a Chief it seperates from his body, & goes to a place call'd Boolootoo,<sup>2</sup> the  
[772] God of which is Gooleho;<sup>3</sup> & they say that we & the men of Feejee as well  
as themselves are subject to Gooleho; but their feigning that this place is to  
the Westward of Feejee & supposing an everlast<sup>g</sup> place to be on this Globe,  
shews they have but confin'd notions of distance & duration; in that place  
they imagine they shall never suffer death again but live in abundance,  
[565] upon the like products of their own Country. The Chiefs will not admit the  
Souls of the common People to this Priviledge, but say that a great bird  
call'd Loata hovers over their Graves & eats them up. . . .

## 000 TAHITI AND THE SOCIETY ISLANDS, AUGUST-DECEMBER 1777

[Adm 55/116, ff. 100v-112]

AUGUST 13<sup>th</sup> [1777]. We stood for Oaite-peha bay, but at 2 PM the wind  
fail'd us & we attempt'd towing in with the boats; towards the Evening  
we had baffling wind[s] from the land & after many trials were at last oblig'd  
to stand off for the night. As we approach'd this Island Omai become more  
& more an Object of our attention; his anxiety was equal to ours, & we  
were glad to observe him as he grew nearer, more thoughtfull; Capt<sup>n</sup>  
Cook had taken a great deal of pains during the Voyage to prevail on  
Omai to agree to some certain arrangement by which his riches would be  
secur'd to him, & his own consequence rais'd & preserv'd, but he would  
never listen to any plan, except that of destroying the bora bora chiefs &

<sup>1</sup> Different gods, rather.<sup>2</sup> Otooa was a god, not a departed soul; a chief's soul went to Pulotu.<sup>3</sup> Hikuleo.

period, pointed out: it was a "certain public ceremony of a religious nature." 651  
 Aboriginal Tongan religious beliefs were an important part of the ceremony  
 since, when the *Tu'i Tonga* was present, the products were presented to him; 651  
 when he was not present, they were presented in his absence to the gods. 643  
 Thomas wrote of the *Tu'i Tonga* that he was: 796 782

viewed as the representative of the god Hikuleo, a kind of connecting  
 link therefore between the people, and the god and his place was at  
 Olotele [on the Island of Tongatapu] (MS:1a:252).

Hikule'o was the god of nature and there were two yearly 'inasi ceremonies,  
 the 'inasi 'ufimui and the 'inasi 'ufimotu'a. The 'inasi 'ufimui, held at the  
 height of winter in the Southern Hemisphere, June-July, was an acknowledge-  
 ment of the "first young yams" and the crops which were planted and also a  
 "thanksgiving to the odooa" or 'otua named Hikule'o (Wilson 1799:259).  
 The 'inasi 'ufimotu'a (with *motu'a* meaning mature) was held in approxi-  
 mately the September-November period. Thomas wrote that this ceremony:

consisted of offerings of old yams brought to the Civil Ruler to show  
 the prosperity of the land, and that the old stock had lasted till the new  
 were fit to dig up (MS:5:19).

Although this ceremony involved the "Civil Ruler" (either the *Tu'i Ha'a  
 Takalaua* or the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, depending on what time period we are  
 writing about) religious beliefs were still inextricably interwoven with the  
 ceremony. In his *Journal* for October of 1828 the Wesleyan Missionary  
 W. Cross wrote:

Today there is to be an annual meeting of the principal part of the  
 inhabitants of the island, to be held at the Mua [on Tongatapu]. The  
 design of this meeting is that they may present their offerings to their  
 gods. According to the Tonga customs it is the business of the  
 Tuikanakabola to preside at this meeting. But he having renounced his  
 former religion was very reluctant to go. But thro the persuasions of  
 some of his people he is going but does not intend to officiate in any  
 way. This meeting is nearly kept up several days (1828:October 10/12).

Both 'inasi ceremonies in Tonga were a time when all work on  
 Tongatapu ceased and during the nine-day period of the 'inasi 'ufimotu'a  
 ceremony singing, dancing, and games also took place (Wilson 1799:259;  
 Mariner 1817:207-215).

This was all a part of the religious and political aspects involved in  
 giving thanks to the gods and acknowledging their powers. The products  
 brought to the Mu'a on Tongatapu were redistributed among the chiefs and  
 the priests of the various deities, including the *Tu'i Tonga* as representative of  
 Hikule'o.<sup>7</sup>

In the wake of the extensive "Westernization" of Tonga neither of the 651  
 'inasi ceremonies are currently held, BUT there are new unifying themes for 178  
 modern Tonga: in lieu of the 'inasi 'ufimui which took place in aboriginal 643  
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this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has shifted.

## NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (March 13-17, 1974) for a Symposium on "Alcohol and Kava Use in the Pacific Islands." Research was conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 1971. In the intervening months archival research was conducted in the major libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.
2. There is at least one other alcohol-dispensing club in the Kingdom, namely the "Vava'u Club" in Vava'u. Since my work in Tonga a new hotel has opened in Vava'u, and alcohol prices probably follow the prices of the hotels on Tongatapu. It should be pointed out that in 1970 and 1971 the various clubs and hotels were selling beverages in obvious violation of Tonga's "Blue Laws" which (theoretically) forbid essentially all non-religious business activities on Sundays.
3. For further information on rank and title see Urbanowicz 1973:114.
4. Tongans not only presented kava roots to important individuals but also took kava roots on visits to important places. The Wesleyan Missionary W. Cross, in the islands from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835, pointed this out: "The [Tongan] Chief observed that on former occasions when they visited and [sic] island it was their custom to take large pieces of kava for the gods; and that to Nomuka alone they used to take at least 10 pieces" (Cross 1830b).
5. A similar detailed description from Hobbs supports the idea of title removal and land distribution at a kava ceremony: "A 'fai Kava' i.e. meeting for drinking Kava took place at Nuku'alofa on Tuesday the 18th at which [Jiosaia] Tubou presided of course as the Tui-kanokubolu. Taufa-ahou [also known as King George Tupou] and all the other principal persons were there, and word was sent to Lavaka at the Bea to come and attend before our people and Taufa-ahou left the Island, but Lavaka [still] refused. The ceremony therefore proceeded without Lavaka. THE PRINCIPAL OBJECT OF THE KAVA MEETING WAS TO STATE OFFICIALLY FROM THE TUI-KANOKUBOLU WHO WAS THE [N] [TO] OCCUPY THE GOVERNMENT IN THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS IN TONGA since the rebellion; and the principal things affected by this appointment are as follows: Old Fatu who was the 1st heathen [or non-Wesleyan] chief who submitted, and who had now come to Nukualofa to the Tui-kanokubolu has got a considerable augmentation of his power in being appointed Tui-Hahake. OLD LAVAKA IS OFFICIALLY DEPRIVED OF ALL HIS POWER BY THE APPOINTMENT OF OLD SEMI AND LOKE as Tuihaamea, because the fortress at the Bea stands in Haamea" [all STRIPSS added] (Hobbs Journal: April 22, 1837).
6. I witnessed a *Taunala* kava ceremony on the island of 'Tua over the period 14 September to 17 September, 1971, having travelled to the island with the royal part on H.M.V. *Kara*, Enroute to 'Tua from the island of Tongatapu, a journey of some four hours, I was fortunate to have approximately a three hour and forty-five minute private discussion with His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV (on just about everything under the Tongan sun, including kava). Much of my thinking about kava has been influenced by my discussions with His Majesty AS WELL AS by numerous discussions with other Tongans, of all ranks: I also took part in numerous kava ceremonies in Tonga occasionally where I was treated as the guest of honor.
7. The *inau* ceremony was not only an important ceremony in aboriginal Tongan society but it also had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (Goldman 1970:134; and Sahlins 1958:24-25). The Tongans were a horticultural people and indeed, today, agriculture along with "tourism" are the mainstays of the Tongan economy. The yam

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or 'ufi was the main crop and W. Cross wrote "the yam is a vegetable that is to the inhabitants of Tonga, what bread is to many in our native land" (Cross 1830a). The aboriginal Tongan names of the respective parts of the year were based on the lunar month and thirteen separately designated time periods (Dyson *Papers 1858-1908*: April 7, 1863). These names clearly show the importance of the yam to the Tongans and Thomas wrote that the month of June was termed "Hilinga kekekele" by the Tongans and that "they expect the soil to produce forth now" and of the yams at this time of the year that they are "the earliest and the best yams." For the month of October, Thomas wrote "Ooloo enga - Uluega" which is 'Ulenga for "ooloo, the head, enga yellow" and at this time the yams "became yellow" (Thomas 1827 no page).

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This same aspect of a "dual installation" also took place when His Majesty's mother, Queen Salote Tupou III, was installed as Queen in 1918 (after the death of her father, King George Tupou II). As Collocott pointed out: "a coronation ceremony in the European model was followed by a native installation with appropriate kava ceremony on the mala'e at Nuku'alofa" (1927:38).

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- 1830b [MS.] *Letter-Journal*, entry of July 24. Microfilm FM4/1417, reel 26; photocopy in A2837. Mitchell Library, Sydney (original in London).

173 sickening smell called *ngahu*. She complained of being sickened by its smell  
643 and from that time on the island became known as Luangahu (*lua*—sick or vomit; hence 'sickened by *ngahu*'). Later she was taken to another small island where she actually became sick and this place is still known as Lauhoko, meaning 'actually vomiting'. From there they went to yet another island where they spent the night and this time she awoke with pains. This island is still known as Ofolanga which means 'awaken by pains'. They hurried back to 'Uiha but could not get there in time, so they called at Lifuka and there, on the beach, she gave birth. This spot is called Niu'ui (*niu*—coconut, *ui*—call) which is supposed to be due to people calling out

[124] for a coconut with which to prepare a baby food. The 'Uiha people's version was supported by Siola'a Soakai, a very knowledgeable *matāpule* at Pangai, Lifuka, who recalled a speech delivered by Tu'ipelehake, the grandfather of the late Queen Sālote, at the opening of the hospital which is now situated at Nui'ui, in which comment had been made on the appropriateness of a hospital site built upon the very spot where Tāufa'āhau's afterbirth was buried. It is interesting to note that the Ha'apai people are also

• [776] able to account for the name Tāufa'āhau, since there was a local god named Tāufa-i-tahi who lived at a place called 'Āhau on Lifuka as well. The discrepancies between these oral traditions may become a subject of heated  
173 [578] discussion at some of the national ceremonies when people from various parts of Tonga congregate. As a result people of one locality are usually aware of the existence of different versions elsewhere, even though they may not know the details, and in any case are usually convinced that their own version is the 'correct one'!

[121] Oral traditions can be of great value to the historian when they are used cautiously and efforts are made to detect the sources of distortion in them.

In some instances they provided information about periods of Tongan history for which no written sources existed. One of these happened to be one of the most important wars in Tonga which was crucial in deciding the fate  
173 669 of the two rival royal dynasties, the *Tu'i Tonga* and the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. It took place during a period when there were no Europeans such as William Mariner or Vason to give eye-witness accounts, although it was after these men's sojourn in Tonga. Thus the oral traditions were the only existing

173 source of information on the events of 1825 and 1826. The different  
124 accounts of the war which I obtained were inevitably coloured by personal and group biases. After recording several different versions, I was faced  
[128] with the task of checking and cross-checking them in an attempt to arrive at what I believed to be closest to the truth.

173 669 The 'Uiha people played down considerably in their version of the war

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much idleness, and a want of love among the people. They think themselves quite demeaned by living with a missionary as servants (Turner, Journal, September 11, 1839).

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Religious matters were all important to the missionaries and as such the Wesleyan accounts often provided detailed descriptions of aboriginal religious beliefs. These detailed Wesleyan descriptions may be compared with other similar missionary descriptions and the researcher may make inferences concerning the capabilities of the Wesleyan as recorder as well as inferences about aboriginal religious beliefs. Cross wrote:

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The Tonga gods or the gods of the Tonguese are almost innumerable. They have made themselves gods of men, birds, beasts & fishes, of vegetables, wood & stone, whales teeth, &c (Cross, Letter, November 1831).

Another missionary wrote of the Tongans that they had "gods irrational and inanimate swell [ing] the number to an almost Grecian amount" (Watkin, Journal, February 4, 1836). Another time he wrote that these gods included "a whales tooth" which was once "the object of worship"

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viewed as a deity was reported by other Wesleyan missionaries:

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Today arrived Kelebi Fullagi from Haabal bringing us a letter from the brethren of a very pleasing nature. By this opportunity I received a Tonga god name Eiku-tubu, from the great Chief the Tamaha. This god is a whales tooth, wrapped in a fine mat which they call Tuoua (Thomas, Letter-Journal, entry of August 20, 1833).

...and had two gods presented to me, which were formerly of great note here, one of them was given to me by the Tamaha, and the other by another chief of high rank. Idol gods are a very scarce commodity here now, the Tamaha sent me one a short time ago which was called her grandfather, it is a small tooth of a whale (Tucker, Letter, February 13, 1836).

127 this story, yet it sounded 'logical' to some. Whether or not I can  
[825] eventually accept Thomas' description for a statement of ethnohistori-  
[124] cal fact on Tongan mythology remains to be seen, since this is the only  
instance I had recorded an extract of this type from the manuscript  
accounts. But ethnohistorical researchers can gather information re-  
corded in the past, ask the natives for contemporary descriptions, and  
see what is the correlation between the descriptions.

Tongan ethnohistorical information of the 19th Century must be  
considered not only in the context of aboriginal Tongan society but  
also in the context of aboriginal Polynesian society. Do the mission-  
ary descriptions "make sense" in the context of what is known and

127 accepted for other Polynesian societies? The missionaries frequently  
192 wrote of 'otua and in his 1826 account, Thomas wrote of the 'hotooa  
or spirit." A 19th Century Wesleyan dictionary transcribed the term  
● 776 as "Otua" and defines it as "God" (Rabone 1845: 20). Other checks for  
775 external consistency may be made on this term. Mariner's 1817 work on  
Tonga, which the missionaries had access to, had: "God (a spirit of any  
kind). Hotooa" (Mariner 1817, II: no page). Cross-checking Mariner's  
own vocabulary one finds:

Hotoo'a. An immaterial being, as a god, spirit, soul,  
apparition or phantom; also any evil coming, as it  
were, by the infliction of the gods; a bodily com-  
plaint; a boil. This word is also sometimes applied  
to foreigners (*ibid.*).

In Mariner's slightly revised edition of 1827, the following is found:

Hotooa. An immaterial being, as a god, spirit, &c.,  
also any evil by the infliction of the gods, a bodily  
complaint, a boil. This word sometimes applies to  
foreigners (Mariner 1827, II: lxxii).

127 "Hootooa" or "Otua" is currently transcribed as 'otua and defined as  
192 "object of worship, deity, god; (cap.) God" (Churchward 1959: 567), and  
776 the term also appears as a cognate in other parts of Polynesia (Vide  
775 Williamson 1937: 9ff.).  
[197]

For purposes of checking on Thomas' own internal consistency in describing the 'otua, his 1826 statement must be compared with his following entry from 1828: "Otua's, or the devil as they call their god" (Thomas, Journal, August 21, 1828). At one point in time Thomas thus refers to the 'otua as a "spirit" (1826) and elsewhere as the aboriginal Tongan "Devil" or aboriginal "god" (1828). Where Thomas' two descriptions would appear to be inconsistent descriptions, but consistent in the context of Wesleyan interpretations of aboriginal Tongan religious beliefs, the ethnographic inconsistency is reconciled when other Wesleyan missionary descriptions of the time period are considered: Tongans believed that after death certain Tongans came back as spirits, and these were viewed as gods. The Wesleyan missionary Lawry provides the ethnohistorical researcher with an additional description, and also an external consistency check of Thomas, with his own description on 'otua or "Atuas."

I cannot learn that they have any knowledge of the One True God--these Atuas are the souls of departed chiefs (Lawry, Diary, October 9, 1822).

The Wesleyan missionary Watkin provides a description which serves as an external consistency check of both Lawry and Thomas. In his own Journal for 1836 Watkin wrote of the Tongans:

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797 Their gods who are intelligent agents are demons or the departed spirits of men eminent in their day for their abominations while gods irrational and inanimate swell the number to an almost Grecian amount (Watkin, Journal, February 4, 1836).

This Watkin example was referred to in the previous chapter (p. 35) and I stress once again the fact that the ethnohistorical researcher must evaluate the specific descriptions in the context of the observer-observed milieu. To the Tongans of the early 19th Century, 'otua was a spirit and a god whereas to the Wesleyan's 'otua was a demon, devil, or the aboriginal god.

127 Factual consistency, both internal and external, must be constantly checked for by the ethnohistorical researcher. The following Watkin description proves to be internally consistent with his last description in reference to "inanimate" aboriginal Tongan gods:

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[776] In the long list of Tonga gods was the rainbow and the Whirlwind. Eclipses were grand sources of dread especially of the sun to remove they resorted to human sacrifices, and as a lesser offering to that of cutting off the little finger a loss which most of the adult inhabitants of these islands have sustained. Sometimes they attempted to deceive their gods by merely scarifying the finger previously amputated and smearing it with blood bind it up and present that before the god as a recent amputation in his honour! But this was I suppose when every available joint of both little fingers had been sacrificed on former occasions (Watkin, Ibid., February 12, 1836).

These two entries by Watkin, of February-4 and February 12, serve as a check on his own internal consistency in his descriptions. External consistency checks on the digital, or actually phalanx amputation, is provided in the account of an early 19th Century French voyager who visited Tongatapu in 1827:



74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978  
(ca. 1800-1850)\*

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The custom of cutting off a joint from one hand or the other to offer it as sacrifice to God, Hotoua, in the event of a serious illness of a father or close relative, still existed in all its force (Dumont D'Urville, April 29, 1827, p. 8; also see Dumont D'Urville n.d., pp. 93-94).<sup>7</sup>

The ethnohistorical researcher must take into consideration as many eyewitness descriptions of aboriginal Tongan products as possible, to avoid "obscure and elusive" statements of ethnohistorical fact. Disagreeing eyewitness descriptions must be taken into consideration by the ethnohistorical researcher and weighed accordingly. The ethnohistorical researcher must first collect the various descriptions of 'otua, analyze them, and then make a synthesis in the form of a statement of ethnohistorical fact.

The ethnohistorian has to construct a picture of things as they really were and of events as they really happened. The investigator's sense of coherency and continuity rests on a feeling for the way in which the dimensions of time and space are structured and form a framework for the exposition of the culture of the ethnic group. All data must be consistently related, and not to an imaginary picture. For the picture to make sense its relation to the evidence must be apparent. The truth of ethnohistorical statements rests on an appeal to the evidence [stress added] (Dark 1957: 231-232).

This citation from Dark is precisely what the ethnohistorian's eventual statement of ethnohistorical fact rests upon: consistently related evidence in the descriptions. The statement of ethnohistorical fact is a construct based not so much on "feeling," but also on the logical and progressive analysis of the descriptions in the context of the observer-observed milieu.

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978  
(ca. 1800-1850)

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797 In 1859 Thomas wrote in his journal of a conversation he had with an eighteen year old Tongan youth. Thomas, who had spent almost thirty years in the archipelago, was telling the Tongan about the past of Tonga:

[782]  
[775]  
[776] and that it was wrong for men to set up intercessors of their own. That it was one of the great errors of Tongan worship that they prayed to departed spirits--chiefs & relatives &c to pray for them & the superior gods (Thomas, Journal, October 23, 1859).

127 In an earlier journal entry for 1839, Thomas provided a description of the 'otua as a totem. He wrote of a Tongan named Simon Hafi:

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[776] just come from the Haabais, hearing that his father was ill, and near death at the Bea. He went to see him, Hafi talked to his father about the true God &c, but the old man ordered him to desist, telling him he was ill, through his having eaten his god. Hafi had eaten the fish called Feka, which had been their family god, and his father charged him with the sin of it (Thomas, Journal, August 2, 1834).

127 Supporting, yet perhaps inconsistent for the ethnohistorical researcher, material can also be found in Thomas' letter-journal entry for the same day. In his letter-journal entry Thomas wrote of the father:

[753]  
[784]  
[776] telling him that his illness was in consequence of his (Simon's) bad conduct to their family god. The fish called Feka was formerly worshipped by this Tribe... (Thomas, Letter-Journal entry of August 2, 1834).

The inconsistency stems from the fact that in both descriptions, Thomas refers to "family" but in one description he mentions "tribe." Before any ethnohistorical researcher can make a broader statement of ethnohistorical fact combining 'otua with "family" or "tribe" in aboriginal Tonga, these two latter terms have to be checked and cross-checked for their consistency based on 19th Century observations.

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[776]

On the basis of the descriptions, a statement of ethnohistorical fact for aboriginal Tonga would be: to the aboriginal Tongans, the term 'otua' could stand for either a deceased person or an animal totem and 'otua' had as its referent for the Tongans either a spirit or a god. This statement is made on the basis of the cited ethnographic evidence.

What Ethnohistory Is Not

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Extracting and testing all of the 19th Century statements on 'otua' and determining that which can be called ethnographic evidence eventually allows the researcher to make a statement of ethnographic fact concerning aboriginal Tongan religion. Ethnohistory is thus the application of historical method to a certain body of documents for the construction of an historical ethnography (p. 7). Ethnohistorians focus on the "ethno-" in the term in presenting an ethnography of the people; the "-history" refers not to the writing of historical changes but to the application of historical method to gather verifiable ethnographic facts of the past for a particular society.

Ethnohistory is not a study of change per se, although it can eventually contribute to studies of change. The term ethnohistory as used by anthropologists is not synonymous to culture change, as H. Maude, the Pacific historian, has written. Maude has written of the revitalized "partnership" between history and anthropology in the 20th Century and states that "In providing a distinctive approach to the study of culture dynamics it is sometimes termed ethnohistory, particularly in the United States" (Maude 1968: xxi). "Culture dynamics," however, is not

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978  
(ca. 1800-1850)

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the vault in which they were afterwards to be deposited. When Bro Thomas waited on the Sick Chief he found him fully determined to choose his idols. He said it was very well for us and Tubou and the people to serve our God; but as for him he was fully satisfied to worship his own God and that he and his people therefore should continue to choose to their heathenish ceremonies. The god that this Chief principally worships died about 20 years since whose bones are now removed; and it is also as firmly believed that that he inspires the present chief that is, that he comes and communicates with him on all important occasions from the invisible world. And the people seem to adore the Chief almost as much as the god who inspires him. It is expected that this chief will soon die, and he intends to be buried in the new vault just now finished. The vault is indeed a marvelous work for a company of poor heathen savages to perform destitute as they are of Tools - It is composed of 5 large pieces of stone one to answer as a bottom and four for each side. These were fitted to each other in a way which was highly creditable to their genius and perseverance and left a space for the Bones about 6 feet long 4 feet Deep and 3½ feet wide. There was a stone also prepared to cover the Vault when the present chief dies. This stone is about 9 feet long 7 feet broad & 1 & ½ foot thick wrought into a square form with one smooth face which will of course be placed downwards [stress added] (Hobbs, Journal, July 27, 1833).

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From this rather detailed description by Hobbs, the ethnohistorical researcher gradually pieces together the events which took place at the Pea. Once again, although proper names of the dying Tongan chief (Fae) and the deceased chief (Takal) are not mentioned, one assumes that if inspiration for the dying chief comes from a deceased relative, as 'otua, then Fae and Takal might have been siblings.

The Journal of the third missionary mentioned by both Thomas and Hobbs, Charles, Tucker, was not available. Tucker, however, did make a letter-journal entry of the events of that day, presumably copied from his own Journal. Tucker wrote:

[797]  
[765]

127 over the grave" (Turner, Journal, February 18, 1833).

764 A final description of the hikitanga ceremony of July 23, 1833

comes from Thomas' post-1850 manuscript account. Thomas provides in-

127 formation which confirms descriptions from all previous accounts of

765 the hikitanga, as well as new details and information.

[304]

Fae of Bea is still very ill, but firmly attached to his heathenism, he has had a new stone vault got ready for his body in his fort, and this day disinterred the body of Takai his older brother formerly the warrior chief of this fort, and three other friends of the Lavaka tribe, and now the people of Bea are performing funeral ceremonies for them a second time, it being what is called the hikitangaa with the crying of the women, and beating their bosoms, and the frantic speeches of the men who cut themselves and break their heads until the blood gushes out and runs down over their bodies. This of course is in sorrow to the dead and especially to Takai the Tutelar God - and at one time esteemed the Hau, or How of Tonga.

• [776]  
[565]

The bones of the different chiefs were carefully laid in new clean matts - with black cloth and wealth and thus covered and laid out in a large house prepared for the occasion, where the chief mourners were all seated and where lights were about to be kept burning all that night in honour of the dead, and the mourning would be kept up. Large quantity of native property was presented, as is usual at the funeral of chiefs called tukufo - and the next day the chiefs would be laid in the new vault with all the usual ceremonies, of persons lately departed, but as our time did not admit of our remaining to witness that part, we first waited upon Fae and again urged upon him the importance of caring for his soul, but turning to God, but found him most firmly determined to die to the gods of Tonga, and although he was now near death yet he was firm to his gods. He was more earnest than usual, and almost angry to think that he should be talked to on such a subject. Our last words that he would most assuredly find out that Jehovah was the true God. We then left him [stress added] (Thomas MS. 1b: 923-925).

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This description by Thomas clearly points out that Fae and Takai were brothers, confirming Woon. This sibling relationship is also

● [776] confirmed by extant Tongan genealogies (Collocott n.d. 1: 49). Thomas' statement that Takai was the titular god of Fae confirms what Hobbs

[764] wrote. The house mentioned by Thomas follows his own journal and con-

[765] firms Tucker's "shed." Thomas' description of the behavior of the individuals participating in the hikitanga ceremony also confirms

Tucker's general description of funerary activities.

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Thomas provides us with new information on how the bones of Takai were prepared for interment, how Fae was living in a fort, and that Takai was "at one time esteemed the Hau, or How of Tonga."

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Gifford (1929) wrote that the title hau was a "term applied to either the Tui Ha'a Takalaua or the Tui Kanokupolu" (1929: 85). Since Gifford never lists Takai as having held either the title of Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua or Tu'i Kanokupolu (1929: 82-87) and he never records Takai as being a hau, then either Thomas' eyewitness-based description was incorrect or Gifford was incorrect. Gifford could be in error on either of two counts: either the title hau was not limited to only the individual who held the title of Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua or Tu'i Kanokupolu, or, Takai was at one point Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua or Tu'i Kanokupolu and Gifford failed to record this fact.

Gifford based his statements on the hau on the basis of his interpretation of published accounts and memory culture of 20th Century informants. Thomas, on the other hand, was an actual eyewitness at the time of the hau and Gifford was not. In his Journal of 1833 Thomas



74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978  
(ca. 1800-1850)

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127 ceremony, but they were not confined to yams: Toku Island, approxi-  
651 mately 220 miles from Tongatapu, sent "the young of a sea bird" and  
796 the Island of Nomuka, approximately 70 miles from Tongatapu, "sent  
fish from the sacred lake [which was] carefully prepared" (ibid.) for  
the ceremony.

With the above evidence, preliminary statements of ethnohis-  
torical facts might be: Islands furthest from Tongatapu sent perish-  
ables to the 'inasi ceremony, even though certain Polynesian foodstuffs  
(including yams) do travel well for lengthy distances; or, Uvea and  
Niua Fo'ou sent items which were unusual at Tongatapu, or items "of  
superior kind."

The 'inasi ceremony, then, involved more than presentation of  
foodstuffs and as Mariner, a non-missionary, pointed out, it was a

127 "certain public ceremony of a religious nature." Aboriginal Tongan  
651 religious beliefs were an important part of the ceremony since when  
796 the Tu'i Tonga was present, the products were presented to him, and  
643 when he was not, they were presented in his absence to the gods. Thomas  
● [776] wrote of the Tu'i Tonga that he was:

viewed as the representative of the god Hikuleo, a  
kind of connecting link therefore between the people,  
and the god and his place was at Olotele [on the  
Island of Tongatapu] [stress added] (Thomas MS. 1A:  
252).

127 There were two yearly 'inasi ceremonies, the 'inasi 'ufimui and the  
651 'inasi 'ufimotu'a, and writing of the 'inasi 'ufimui Thomas stated:

796 This was a solemn yearly gathering of chief and  
776 priests from all parts of Tonga, which took place  
782 at Hua [on Tongatapu Island] in the month of June,  
244 called Hiliigakelekele, to present what we may term

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978  
(ca. 1800-1850)

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the first fruits, or the first young yams to the god Hikuleo, at his house at Olotele, as an acknowledgement of their dependence upon him and the gods, as the owners of the earth, the sea, and all things and to unite to supplicate the gods, to bless the seed now about to be put into the ground, and to send them suitable weather of rain and sun, that the yams set may bring forth a crop, and that their labours may not be in vain. (Thomas MS. 2: 262) [stress added].

This 'inasi 'ufimui', held at the height of winter in the Southern Hemisphere, or in approximately June or July, was not only an acknowledgement of "the first young yams" and the crops which were being planted, but was also a "thanksgiving to the odooa," or 'otua named Hikuleo, "for the late ripe yams" (eyewitness' description-interpretation of events of July 25, 1797, in Wilson 1799: 259).

The 'inasi 'ufimotu'a', derived from "'ufi-" and "motu'a" with the latter term meaning 'mature' (Churchward 1959: 367), was held in approximately October-November. Thomas wrote that this was the acknowledgement "to show the prosperity of the land, that the old stock had lasted till the new were fit to dig up" (Thomas MS. 5: 19). The Wesleyan missionary Lawry's typescript diary has a description of the first 'inasi he was eyewitness to on Tongatapu. Probably through the typist's error, the term is typed as 'Machee':

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The great ceremony of Machee, one of the greatest festivals in Tonga, ceased to-day. It has continued nine days. Its object is to bring the first fruits of the earth and present them before the god who has sent them good yams. That part of the island where we live is called the Mooa, or metropolis of Tonga; and to this place the chiefs of Vavaou and the Hapais bring their machee, towards the end of the last moon the fleet of canoes and crowds of people by land rendering the Mooa a moving scene of universal bustle and stir. The ceremony lasts nine days. Every day has its special transaction [stress added] (Lawry, Diary, October 21, 1822).

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978  
(ca. 1800-1850)

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651 The period of the 'Inasi was a time when all work on Tongatapu ceased  
796 (Thomas MS. 5: 20). During the nine-day period of the ceremony,  
singing, dancing, and games took place (Ibid.; Wilson 1799: 259;

[782] Mariner 1817, II: 207-215). This was all part of the religious aspect  
involving the giving of thanks to the gods and the acknowledgement of  
[565] their powers. The products brought to the Mu'a area were redistributed  
[793] among the chiefs and priests of the various deities, including the  
[643] Tu'i Tonga representative of the deity Hikuleo.  
[437]

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The following description from an eyewitness of the 1797-1800  
period clarifies the interrelationship between chiefs and deities:

Their deities are numerous; and there is reason to  
think their prejudices are strong. Every district  
has its own deity; and each family of note has one,  
whom they consider as their own particular patron.  
The deities of the districts are, on certain occasions,  
represented by several chiefs of those districts;  
so that their matches and other annual exhibitions  
are not mere public amusements but religious observances,  
whereon they think the lives and health of their chiefs,  
for whom they have great affection, entirely depend;  
as likewise the prosperity of the country in general:  
expecting the succeeding crop will be in proportion to the offering  
made at these times. They have two matches in the year,  
one when their years are set, to procure the favour of futuafaitu  
and the other when they gather them in, express of their gratitude  
[stress added] (W. Smith 1813: 155).

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[796]

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Smith's description of the two "matches" or 'Inasi 'ufimui and 'Inasi

'ufimotu'a corroborates what Thomas later wrote concerning the two

ceremonies. The description that each Tongan "family of note" has a

deity "whom they consider as their particular patron" helps to clarify

the significance of the Takai-Fae relationship discussed earlier on the

hikitanga (see pages 71-76).

127 The above ethnographic reconstruction of the 'inasi ceremony  
796 provides some new ethnohistorical evidence which enables us to confirm  
651 or deny certain statements made by 20th Century scholars. Gifford  
114 (1929: 76) was correct when he wrote that the Tu'i Tonga acted "as  
[643] intermediary" between the Tongan people and the gods, but he was in  
error when he wrote that the 'inasi ceremony would be "impossible  
without" the Tu'i Tonga (*Ibid.*), as Lawry's citation from 1822 makes  
quite clear. Since Gifford was working with 20th Century informants  
4 "memory culture" of an aboriginal ceremony in 1920-1921, and since the  
'inasi ceremony was no longer performed when Gifford was in Tonga, this  
is a good example of the justification of ethnographic reconstruction:  
one reconstructs on the basis of eyewitness accounts and not on memory

[643] culture. Gifford points out that Farmer, an individual who published a  
[776] book in 1855 (based on some missionary information), stated that the  
Tu'i Tonga "was the high priest" of Hikuleo and it was in Hikuleo's  
honor that the 'inasi took place; but Gifford also points out that he  
was unable to verify this statement when he did his work in 1920-1921

127 (Gifford 1929: 345). Because the ethnohistorical researcher pieces to-  
114 gether an historical ethnography on the basis of verifiable evidence of  
the past, he is "closer" to the actual aboriginal social and cultural  
behavior than the ethnographer who attempts a reconstruction by means  
of the memory information of the present.

[643] Gifford could not make a statement of ethnographic fact concern-  
[776] ing the relationship between the Tu'i Tonga and the deity Hikuleo, but  
I can make a statement of ethnohistorical fact that the Tu'i Tonga was  
representative of Hikuleo.

TRADITIONAL POLITY IN TONGA 3

laua. Later, the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mo'ungatonga, desiring to become like the Tu'i Tonga himself and be free of the responsibilities of the *hau*, created another dynasty, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and appointed one of his sons, Ngata, to this position in order that the latter would take over the responsibilities of the *hau*. The establishment of this third dynasty took place about the beginning of the seventeenth century (Gifford 1929:86). The responsibilities of administering the affairs of the country were thus gradually transferred to the Tu'i Kanokupolu line. 643  
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Apart from his divine sanctity, the Tu'i Tonga's position was enhanced by a marriage arrangement between the Tu'i Tonga and the *hau* dynasties. The eldest daughter of the *hau* was usually given as a *moheofo* (principal wife) to the Tu'i Tonga. As a result the next Tu'i Tonga, who was the son of the *moheofo*, would be in a relationship of *fahu*<sup>2</sup> (unlimited authority) to the *hau* who would be his maternal uncle. For this reason, when the system was at its peak, the *hau* dynasty (first the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and later the Tu'i Kanokupolu) felt privileged and honoured to support and maintain the position of the Tu'i Tonga. 643  
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The Tongan system of land tenure rested upon the assumption that, owing to his divine origin, all land in Tonga from the beginning belonged to the Tu'i Tonga, and that the rights possessed by other chiefs therefore derived from him. In recognition of this, and also of the fact that he was regarded as the repre- 643  
423  
[651]  
[776]

<sup>2</sup> The term *fahu* was derived from the Fijian word *vasu* which is the commoner term for sister's son or daughter. In certain areas of Fiji, the sister's male children are *vasu* and this gives them the right to inherit all the portable property of their mother's brother. Capell and Lester (1946:241-2) suggest that the *vasu* right in its simpler form came into western Polynesia from Fiji, and that the more extended form of *vasu* right also developed in Fiji and 'from eastern Fiji the right will have passed direct to Tonga, and it did so because the existing Tongan social system provided it with a ready welcome'. Their contention is supported by Tongan traditions which say the *fahu* began with the marriage of the Fijian chief, Tapu'osi, with the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (Tu'i Tonga's sister). Their children became *fahu* over the Tu'i Tonga, and theoretically over the whole of Tonga (informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote). In actual practice, the privileges of the *fahu* among commoners were severely restricted by the more powerful rights of the chiefs over commoners' property. Hence the custom was only strictly enforced by the chiefly classes (Gifford 1929:22-6; Collocott 1923b:223). [604]  
[171]  
[174]  
[565]

4 CHURCH AND STATE IN TONGA

643 sentative of Hikule'o, the god of harvest, an annual festival of  
423 'inasi (offering of the first fruits to him) was held.<sup>3</sup> It was believed  
651 that failure to carry out the 'inasi would result in calamity and the  
whole land would suffer from divine wrath.

776 The land was gradually divided among the principal chiefs  
184 as the population increased with the years and, in practice, they  
became the effective controllers of their respective land. Once a  
423 tofi'a (hereditary estate) had been allocated to a chief, it remained  
565 associated with his title and neither the Tu'i Tonga nor the hau  
643 ever revoked it (Waldegrave 1834:185), though they could  
depose its existing title holder and choose another. The chiefs  
651 further acknowledged their indebtedness to the Tu'i Tonga for  
their land by paying him tributes and by performing the traditional  
futongia' (corvée).

659 Politics was closely interwoven with religion in Tonga. Every  
chiefly person possessed some degree of *mana* or supernatural  
565 power. However, the amount of *mana* a chief received was also  
778 thought to depend on the good will of the gods. Chiefs made  
offerings to obtain the favour of the gods and consulted them on  
565 important occasions, particularly before going to war or embarking  
782 on distant voyages. When any misfortune or natural disaster  
787 occurred it was attributed to the anger of the gods. Since the  
784 chiefs, who were the political leaders, relied upon priests as their  
mediators with the gods, a close alliance existed between them and  
793 the religious leaders in order to maintain their mutual interests.  
565 The powers of the priests were second only to those of the chiefs.

The Tongans were polytheistic and possessed a hierarchy of gods.  
776 Among the principal gods were the *kau* Tangaloa,<sup>5</sup> who lived in  
the sky, the *kau* Maui, who lived in the underworld, and the deity  
Hikule'o, who held Puluotu, or the Tongan paradise (Collocott  
1921:152-3; Farmer 1855:133; Thomson 1894:23).

<sup>3</sup> Because 'inasi was a religious festival, it was different from the ordinary offering of first fruits to the chiefs which was called *polopolo* (Gifford 1929:103; Martin 1827, I:201; Williamson 1924, III:347-8).

<sup>4</sup> Vason stated, 'It was the custom of the inferior chiefs, to send men, two or three times a week, to "Fadongyeer", i.e. to dig plant and labour for Dugonagaboola' (Orange 1840:139).

<sup>5</sup> *kau* is a plural sign. It comes before nouns denoting persons.



TRADITIONAL POLITY IN TONGA 5

The *kau* Tangaloa were principally creator gods and there were no temples or priests dedicated to them (Gifford 1929:289) and the creator of some of the islands of Tonga and of the first people, Kohai, Koua and Momo (Thomas 1879: 12). The *kau* Maui were believed to have fished up most of the islands of the Tongan group. One Maui was also believed to carry the earth upon his shoulder, and an earthquake was supposed to be caused either by a Maui changing the earth from one shoulder to another, or falling asleep and nodding his head. Hikule'o was believed to control the weather and the fertility of the land. The Tu'i Tonga was regarded as her representative on earth and the annual 'inasi offerings to the Tu'i Tonga were actually offered to her.<sup>6</sup>

Although the principal deities were widely recognised, they were not as important in everyday affairs as the gods who were confined to particular localities. Thus each chief and his people had their own gods. These were usually the spirits of their dead chiefs. It was believed that when members of the chiefly class died they (or their spirits) went to Puluotu where Hikule'o resided. There they became gods of secondary order, and were thought to return to earth in the form of sharks, various animal species, and, in one case, an octopus, or were embodied in a whale tooth, a shell or a carved piece of wood (Gifford 1929:289-90; Wilson 1799:272; Te Rangi Hiroa 1935:12).

These secondary gods were consulted in the event of war or before embarking on long sea voyages, and sacrifices were offered to them in cases of illness (Collocott 1921:158). The offerings to the gods were made through a priest, and if he were dissatisfied he would ask 'Do you think I am going to take any notice of such paltry things as you have brought?' The poor people on hearing this would go to fetch more costly gifts and sometimes, if they received no assistance from the first deity to whom they had sacrificed, they would visit five or six gods in succession. If they obtained satisfaction, it was believed that the gods were pleased and were pleading on their behalf with the venerable

<sup>6</sup> Some thought that Hikule'o was a male god (Lawry 1850:251); Collocott 1921:152).

30 CHURCH AND STATE IN TONGA

797 The commoners followed their chiefs as they had always done, for fear of immediate punishment and divine retribution.

798 For their own interest the priests, in particular, were anxious to keep the commoners' fear alive. Although the priestly class in Tonga did not have the same socio-political importance which the members of their order enjoyed in some other places in the Pacific, they were still treated by the Tongan people with considerable respect and fear. The veneration offered to a priest depended upon the rank of the god who inspired him. Although the power of the priests was second only to that of the chiefs, [799] it was more religious in nature. Their power to curse (*talatuki*) was revered by all (West 1865:257). They were always consulted [787] as to the will of the gods with regard to sickness, natural disaster, voyages, war and so on, and a very high fee was charged [465] for the consultation (Watkin, Journal, 7 Feb. 1834).

It was obvious from the beginning that the intrusion of Christianity, with its strange and more sophisticated order of [797] priesthood, meant the decline and in due course the disappearance [798] of the traditional priesthood, together with all the power, honour and privileges its members had enjoyed for centuries. This was a significant loss and, as might be expected, the members of the old order were prepared to fight to retain their position.

Describing the state of affairs in his station Thomas (1879:57) wrote:

The priest and priestess now seeing that . . . the Tonga worship was being brought into great discredit, they gave utterances—while inspired by the gods, which roused some of the chiefs, who favoured them, to use means to put a stop to these disorderly proceedings. Some common persons, who had been bold enough to slight, or cast away the Tonga gods were beaten—and others were threatened—and all were termed foolish who had taken up at once with this new thing, which the *papalangis*—foreigners had brought.

797 After the death of a man at Hihifo, old Fai'ana, the priestess, told the people that she had a dream in which the deceased had [798] told her that the missionaries had informed him that if he joined the *lotu* he would not die, intimating that the missionaries had [787] lied (Thomas, Journal, 30 Jan. 1829). Again, after a severe storm one priest told the people that Pulotu Kātoa (one of the most

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and accustomed to this plague, or pest of mankind, in these parts, either does not feel them, or is so unconcerned that he walks about as indifferent as though little or nothing ailed him.

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Afflicted with their traditional ailments, as well as the newly introduced ones, and lacking knowledge of either their causes or cures, the Tongans attributed these misfortunes to the anger of the gods or the displeasure of the spirits of deceased kin. Accordingly, they believed that there was a direct connection between the efficacy of medicine and the power and truth of the god, whether the medicine was that provided by the missionary or by the heathen priest.

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Fortunately for the cause of the mission, the missionaries at Nuku'alofa were more successful in combating disease than John Thomas had been at Hihifo. Nathaniel Turner wrote of their experience in this regard:

I must just observe in this place that our success in this respect has been the means of bringing many over to our cause from different parts of the Island. When a cure has been wrought, the individual has gone home to his friends, and they all beholding what has been done for him, the whole family, and, in some instances, families have come over to live at Nuku'alofa, and attend to religious instruction. (N. Turner to Committee, 6 May 1831, WMMS 1818-36, item A2832)

The importance of this aspect of the missionaries' work soon became apparent, and consequently dispensary hours had become part of their regular activities.

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The missionaries' goods—articles of trade—were highly prized by the Tongan people, and these also helped to turn the interest of the people towards the missionaries and their work. 'If I had good trade', wrote John Thomas, 'it would not only be a saving of time, but tend to produce a good feeling upon the minds of the natives towards us and the good cause' (Thomas, Journal, 2 June 1826). Even John Thomas's dwelling house was something of great wonder to the people. It was the first European house built in Tonga, having two storeys with various apartments, with panel doors in front, and glass windows, and was something which they had never seen before. These things captured their imagination and became the chief topics of conversation not only

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79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974  
(1822-1875)

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in Tongatapu but in the other islands as well. Many were initially attracted to the mission because they believed that through the mission they would get European goods.

The friendly relationship which existed between the missionaries and the captains of British men-of-war which occasionally visited the islands, and the respect the latter always displayed for the former, meant a lot to the missionaries and to their work. It enhanced their prestige in the eyes of the Tongans. It is easy to comprehend the reasoning of the unsophisticated mind. 'Surely', they would think to themselves, 'if the God of the white people could make these men-of-war and their guns and powder, it must be true that He is the only God.'

The commander of the H.M.S. *Seringapatam*, the Hon. William Waldegrave, removed five Europeans from Vava'u who had been troublesome to the work of the missionaries (*W-M Mag.*, 1831: 712), and later the British Consul in Samoa, George Pritchard, removed two Americans who had robbed the mission and made two others work on its behalf for ten weeks (P. Turner, Journal, 1 Nov. 1849).

While it was true that one of the main obstacles to the success of the mission was the objection of the chiefs, it is equally true to say that the breakthrough in the work of the missionaries was significantly due to the support given it by certain important chiefs in Tonga. Like the other chiefs during the initial period of European contact, they coveted European wealth, technological knowledge and power. However, the two groups differed significantly in their beliefs as to the best method of achieving their common ambitions.

The opponents of Christian mission on the one hand strongly believed that success would be achieved through the old gods and by means of the traditional religion. Significantly, most of these chiefs were more successful in the power-struggle which had been going on in the group at this time. They had no reason to doubt the validity of the old order, and they were eager to maintain the *status quo*. Others, on the other hand, became disillusioned by what they interpreted as the failure of their gods, to achieve what they wanted, and they began to question the validity and effectiveness of the traditional religion. Some among them decided to

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797 challenge some of the long-established traditions which hampered  
565 their ambitions. In doubting the old religion some began to believe,  
quite genuinely, that the only way to achieve their ambitions of  
acquiring the wealth, knowledge and power of the white man was  
to adopt his religion. They believed that the white man acquired  
all these from his superior and more powerful god.

797 It was initially for this reason that the Tu'i Kanokupolu family  
643 decided to accept and support the Wesleyan mission. Probably  
this was the most significant factor in the breakthrough which the  
mission enjoyed. As Ata's refusal to accept Christianity hampered  
the growth of the mission, its acceptance by Aleamotu'a and  
Tāufa'āhau (later to be known as King George) facilitated its  
breakthrough and accelerated its growth.

The original motive behind the conversion of these chiefs  
appears to have been political. After the death of Tupouto'a in  
1820, a Tu'i Kanokupolu was not installed for almost eight years.  
The various sub-divisions of Tonga remained autonomous, each  
under its own paramount chief. In Tongatapu, the main island,  
power was at this time virtually in the hands of the Ha'a Havea.  
It was probably due to their powerful pressure that the 'electoral  
college' did not bother to appoint another Tu'i Kanokupolu for  
so long.

● [796] This state of affairs must have considerably influenced  
Aleamotu'a, his nephew, Ulakai, and the Tu'i Kanokupolu family  
in their decision to accept Christianity. The impotence of their  
own gods in the face of their present political plight no doubt  
predisposed them to accept more readily the idea of the Almighty  
Jehovah as the only true and omnipotent God, one who could  
offer them hope when their own traditional gods failed to do so.  
At this opportune time Tākai and Langi arrived at Nuku'alofa  
with the Tahitian teachers, Hape and Davida.

The Tahitian teachers knew neither Tongan nor English, but  
apparently old Aleamotu'a expressed a deep desire to learn the  
English language. For this reason he wanted to have European  
missionaries and he visited Hihifo several times for this purpose  
in 1826. In December, Thomas wrote, 'Tpobo [Tupou Aleamotu'a]  
the chief of Noogaloff [Nuku'alofa] prefers English missionaries  
as he wants to learn the English language. He would be glad in



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797 stories from the Bible, including the stories of the Children of  
649 Israel and the Ten Commandments in particular.

797 As a man of action, Tāufa'āhau wanted to test the validity  
643 and power of the old gods and to discover by experience whether  
797 Jehovah was the only true God. He began by destroying a large  
643 canoe which had long been kept as sacred to their gods. Then  
796 one day he took Pita Vi and others with him to test the power  
798 of the god Haehaetahi. On their arrival at the house of the god's  
priestess, Tāufa'āhau asked her to let the god come so that  
they could have *kava* together.

Hereupon [narrated Pita Vi] the old priestess became inspired by  
Haehaetahi; and, in the meanwhile, Tāufa'āhau had prepared a great  
drinking-cup. . . . The cup was then filled and handed by Tāufa'āhau  
to the priestess; but, while her face was turned upwards, in the act of  
drinking off its contents, Tāufa'āhau struck her a great blow on the  
forehead, which sent the god (or priestess) rolling on the ground. He  
then gave her another blow, and, raising a shout of victory, cried  
out that the god was slain. (West 1865:364)

661 The chiefs of Ha'apai were already upset by Tāufa'āhau's  
commitment to the new religion, but after his treatment of  
Haehaetahi they were greatly alarmed. A plan was drawn up by  
their leaders, in which Tāufa'āhau was to be seized and bound,  
and the small band of followers of the new religion killed. Up  
to this time Tāufa'āhau had not yet joined the Christians in their  
religious meetings, but, on discovering the chiefs' plot, he decided  
to join them openly in their prayer meetings. Soon afterwards he  
and VI went out to the bush and collected objects used for  
worship in the old religion, built a fire and burnt them all. Then  
they went to the sea. Tāufa'āhau swam out to the deep, calling the  
names of the gods, Haehaetahi (a shark), Tāufa'itahi, and others  
to come to him if they were really gods, but none came.

Tāufa'āhau did not confine his testing to the heathen gods  
alone. By way of testing the power of the Christian God, whilst  
on a canoe voyage, he cast his spear at a shark, which he sus-  
pected to be Haehaetahi, and, missing it, threw Pita Vi and another  
man overboard to fetch the spear and bring it to Hā'ano. He  
reasoned that if Jehovah were really God, he would save Pita Vi  
and his companion from the sharks. Fortunately for the mission,



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Vi and his friend arrived safely on shore with the spear (Collocott n.d.:75). 797

Convinced by what he had learned and by the results of his tests that the Christian God was the only God, Tāufa'āhau became an ardent crusader for his new-found faith. He wasted no time in launching a full-scale campaign to eradicate heathenism in Ha'apai. He and his followers burned down god-houses and destroyed effigies on other islands, persuading and even forcing the people to give up their traditional beliefs and accept Christianity. When Thomas finally arrived in 1830, only three islands (Nomuka, Tungua and 'Uiha) out of the eighteen inhabited islands of the Ha'apai group had not yet accepted the *lotu* (Farmer 1855: 204-5). 643 798 [797]

Tāufa'āhau had at this time merely accepted the new God on the same terms as those on which he had accepted or served the traditional ones, and he had not fully grasped the meaning to Christians of such concepts as mercy and forbearance. He was the ruler of Ha'apai, desperately seeking what was best for himself and his people, and there was no other way to find this out than by applying drastic measures to prove whether his scepticism of the old gods was justified and his acceptance of the new faith was right. After becoming convinced himself, he went on to demonstrate to his people that infringements of the old religious taboos brought no penalties. His rank and position as ruler entitled him to do what he did. He was baptised on 7 August 1831, but before this he had chosen for himself the name King George. 'I would remark here', wrote Peter Turner (Journal, 13 June 1831), 'that the King of Haabai [Tāufa'āhau], tho' not yet baptized—was called King George—as he had chosen the name because of [sic] the late King of England was called George.' 797 643 [55]

In the same year he managed, with considerable difficulty, to persuade Finau 'Ulukālala Tuapasi, ruler of Vava'u, to become converted. Prior to this Finau had been bitter against the missionaries and the new religion, and had persecuted those who were sympathetic to Christianity, mainly because of the failure of the missionaries to comply with his request for a missionary. In response to Aleamotu'a's advice to accept Christianity in 1828 he had sent a letter to Nathaniel Turner, pleading with him to 634 797

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trained at Tupou College, have produced outstanding church leaders, ministers of the Crown, doctors, leading public servants and teachers, whose impact on the religious, social, economic and political development of Tonga has been extremely significant. 874 555

The improvement in the training of teachers effected corresponding improvement in the number and standard of subjects taught in the schools, as well as the efficiency of teaching. In addition to religious subjects, history, geography, arithmetic and English were taught in day schools, and philosophy, astronomy, geometry, algebra and physics were added to the syllabus of the institutions (*W-M Mag.*, Dec. 1868:1144). 872

Referring to Mrs Tucker's lessons in astronomy Sarah Farmer (1855:332) wrote:

The evenings were spent in conveying to the natives, by familiar illustrations some idea of the first principles of astronomy. The lamp was made to represent the sun; a cocoa-nut the earth; some other object the moon; and as the cocoa-nut, suspended by a twisted thread, revolved round the lamp. they were taught the motions of the earth, with the cause of the change in its seasons. Lessons were also given on eclipses, gravitation, etc. Thus the views of the natives became corrected and enlarged.

Through the teaching of these subjects, the missionaries definitely went a long way towards undermining the traditional cosmology of the Tongans, by supplying scientific explanations of some of the natural phenomena which had been interpreted according to traditional beliefs. For example, the Tongans believed that earthquakes were caused by the deity Maui, who was supposed to be lying, feeble and sleepy, underneath the earth, and was at that time turning round. They immediately started their war-whoop in order to awaken him, 'lest he should get up, and in rising, overturn the world' (Farmer 1855:136-7). 797 177 772 813 823 776

The missionaries found that the majority of the Tongans did not have a flair for English. Consequently, subjects had to be taught in Tongan. This led to a proliferation of printed materials in Tongan. Books were translated, traditions and historical information collected, and many were published in the local press. When the old press went out of action, Dr Moulton managed by trial and error to set up one in the College, and trained his 241

Tongans gave honour to women of high chiefly rank. The eldest daughter of the Tu'i Tonga was the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (= female) who received greater respect than even her father or brother. Her daughter was called the Tamaha (= Sacred Child) to whom even the Tu'i Tonga made obeisance. The first Tamaha was the daughter of a Fijian chief from Lakeba, in the Lau group, who married the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, in the early 17th Century; the last Tamaha died in 1852.<sup>(17)</sup>

Through careful inter-marriage the chiefs preserved physical and mental superiority over the commoners. Though the chiefs had unlimited power and were often oppressive they received from their people a loyalty that has remained a characteristic feature of Tongan society. Tongans were industrious to the extent that life in their fertile islands required and their service to the chiefs necessitated. They, however, were regarded as rather indolent in contrast with their neighbours in Fiji. The Tongans' pride was not only a relic of past domination over other island groups. They had abilities that marked them as an outstanding race. Ingenious, enterprising, self-reliant, they have been able to extricate themselves from difficulties that would daunt most Europeans.<sup>(18)</sup>

The most important of the early voyagers who visited Tonga, Tasman (1643) and Cook (1773-4-7), gave testimony to the Tongans' peaceful and prosperous state. They noted the gardens, carefully cultivated and surrounded with reed fences, and the trim tree-lined paths connecting plantations. The people did not live in villages and there was no sign of political unrest or dissension. It was boasted that proclamations could be shouted from one household to another and taken across the island of Tongatapu in a very short time.

Captain Cook's eulogies gave "The Friendly Islands" the attraction of a tropical paradise that aroused false expectations in the minds of many ship captains afterwards. Attacks on ships were due to a desire for the treasures suddenly brought into their remote islands rather than to any latent savagery in the Tongans' nature. Normally the people were friendly and hospitable, with genuine affection in their own domestic relationships and a prevailing gaiety and good humour. Their natural buoyancy of spirit was displaced only by fears of death or other impending disasters and, when faced with these, they had recourse to their religion.

Tongans sat lightly by their religion except in times of distress and danger. Then they brought offerings to the priests' houses, sitting outside and making supplication through the priests to the spirits in Pulu, the paradise beyond the ocean; these spirits, it was believed, had power over life and death. There was no public worship. Music, of which Tongans were very fond, was not associated with religion. The fear in which the gods were held made music inappropriate. Tongans sang only in festival dances which gave the setting for their treasured lyrics, and in canoe journeys and working parties on shore.

Religion was bound up with the social system. Because the Tu'i Tonga was believed to be divinely descended the chiefs who were related to his line by marriage shared in the reverence accorded to him. So many chiefs were closely related to the Tu'i Tonga that a visitor like Cook was easily puzzled by the many who received quasi-royal honours. The chiefs received offerings for both religious and social reasons. Pulu was reserved for them; commoners, it was held, had no souls and were not entitled to an after-life.

There were three divisions in the Tongan Pantheon — the Tangaloa, gods 776 in the sky, the Maui in the underworld (who caused earthquakes and gave other evidence of their power), and Hikule'o, who presided over Pulu, the paradise in the west. The Tu'i Tonga was regarded as the high priest of Hikule'o and his wife, the Mohefo, was priestess or servant (*kaunanga*) of Hikule'o. The 776 priests of the various deities professed to receive and utter oracles from the gods in trance-like experiences. Only the priests entered the gods' houses; the suppliants sat humbly outside. The priests were not always respected, especially when their statements did not suit influential interrogators. Tongans believed also in gods of natural forces (the winds, the sea, the harvest), gods of sacred places, and even creatures which frequented these places and were thought to embody the spirit of the ancestral chief of a neighbouring tribe.<sup>(10)</sup> 776

The offering of human sacrifice by strangulation, when a chief or a member of his family was threatened with death, was never practised as frequently as in Fiji and became less common as time went on; instances, however, were recorded by Mariner during his sojourn in Tonga (1806-10) and by missionaries later. The victim was generally a youth, the child of one of the chief's secondary wives. Instead of a life it became customary to amputate fingers and offer these as substitute sacrifices. Cook wrote, 782

"There was scarcely one in ten I did not find mutilated in one or more hands." (11)  
George Tupou I (c. 1797-1893) had lost two little fingers in his youth. When a chief died, women cut their hair and beat their cheeks until they were covered with blood, and men wounded themselves with clubs and spears, to show their sorrow and their devotion to the deceased. The more savage practices found in Fiji, such as cannibalism, infanticide, and the premature burying of the very old, were practically unknown in Tonga. There was indeed a great respect for the aged and a strong affection for children. Cannibalism, in imitation of Fijian customs, was practised in the Civil Wars which began in 1799, but it was regarded with utter abhorrence in normal times. 782 304

Tonga's usually orderly and pleasant existence continued through the centuries until the early 17th Century when the first contact was made with Europeans who, in the people's phrase, burst through the skies with their tall ships; hence the word for Europeans, *Papālangi*, or sky-bursters. This happened first in the distant northern islands of Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou. Jan Schouten and Jacob Lemaire came in two ships around Cape Horn searching for what was expected to be a great southern continent in the vast expanse of the South Pacific Ocean. On 9 May 1616 the Dutchmen saw a canoe with about twenty-five people; these were Tongans whose first knowledge of the outside world was the firing of warning shots. The Dutchmen followed the canoe to Tafahi and the adjacent island, Niua Toputapu. The visitors did not land on either. Surprised at the appearance of human beings so different from themselves and ships so unlike their canoes, the people attempted to steal one of the ships' boats during the trading for vegetables and other supplies. When the vessels were going across from Tafahi to Niua Toputapu, a large fleet of canoes attacked the ships with stones. No fatalities occurred then, but, during the subsequent visit of the Dutchmen to Niua Fo'ou, the island to the west, two Tongans were killed when trying to capture one of the ships' boats. It was an unhappy introduction to the Tongans' contact with Europeans. 177

[1829-1832]

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I am tired of my spirits; they tell me so many lies that I am sick of them. . . . My island, sir, will turn to the Great God, because I am the only chief on the island; I have no one to control me. When I turn, they all turn. To be sure, I did try to take a ship; but there will be no more of that . . . So no more from me, a wicked sinner. FINAU (his mark) XXX." (24)

At length Finau sent a message to Taufa'ahau offering to receive a missionary if one came direct from England; this was typical of a Tongan chief's pride and meant that Finau would look askance at anyone like Peter Vi from Ha'apai. Yet it was Peter Vi, who had been Taufa'ahau's emissary in negotiating with Finau, who accompanied Taufa'ahau to Vava'u in April 1831. It was Peter who preached the sermon in the first public Christian service in Vava'u, before Finau, Taufa'ahau, and their entourage.

On the Monday following that initial act of Christian worship, Finau and Taufa'ahau set about their attack on the old religion in Vava'u. Finau never did anything by halves. Placing seven of the principal gods in line, he warned each in these terms: "I have brought you here to prove you. . . . If you are a god, run away, or you shall be burned in the fire which I have prepared." When nothing happened Finau ordered the gods and their houses to be destroyed. Altogether eighteen idol-houses were burnt down. This took three days, and in the prevailing damp weather the smoke hung low over the island, to the dismay of the people who feared that this portended reprisals from the outraged deities. Taufa'ahau lent willing assistance to the exposure of the falsity of the old gods. In the village of Makave he stripped mats and native cloth from a "god", revealing a shell inside; some onlookers laughed and all, it is said, were ashamed. (25)

It was only after this assault by Tongan converts upon the old religion that any European missionary visited Vava'u. John Thomas paid several visits from Ha'apai; on one of these he preached eighteen sermons in nine days. William Cross came in June 1831 and found 1,000 people willing to accept Christianity. In July 1831 two teachers, one from Ha'apai named David Fale, and Paul, a Vava'u man who had been instructed in Ha'apai, were appointed to Vava'u pending the arrival of a resident missionary. (26) They took sheets of hymns and portions of Scripture printed at Nuku'alofa. (Another source gives Jeremiah Kamoto as the name of the second teacher. (27) )

The acceptance of Christianity in Vava'u, even under Finau's powerful patronage, was not unquestioned. His half-brother, Lualala, who had been in Fiji for some time and who was politically opposed to Finau, led a party of defiant non-Christians. They built a fort at Otea on Kapa, one of the outlying islands of Vava'u. The forces of Finau and Taufa'ahau besieged the fort. When the brief contest ended the Ha'apai chief restrained Finau from killing any of the defenders. "George would not hear of any being put to death because Christianity teaches us to love our enemies." (28) This act of clemency to Lualala and his followers surprised everyone; but Taufa'ahau and Peter Vi insisted that it was the true Christian attitude. Lualala was expelled from Vava'u and told to return to Fiji, but he went to Tongatapu and attached himself to the Ha'a Havea chiefs, the opponents of Aleamotu'a Tupou. Lualala settled in the fort of Ngele'ia, near Ma'ofanga. Thomas said that Taufa'ahau's destruction of the gods in Ha'apai and Vava'u made the chiefs in Tongatapu fear that he would do the same there but, Thomas wrote, "He does not wish to go to war with the Tongatapu people". (29)

William Cross, then stationed in Tongatapu, was appointed to Vava'u at the beginning of 1832. In January he set sail with his wife in a large canoe lent



[1837]

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an immediate attack on the outskirts of Nuku'alofa; they were observed by sentries before the attack could be carried out. Aleamotu'a had been on the defensive but the situation changed with the arrival of the army from the north which set out to punish the enemy. This they did with horrible severity. 669 643 748

On 9 January, as Taufa'ahau and his warriors were sailing past the rebel fort at Ngele'ia, near the beach and not far from Ma'ofanga, the defenders of the fort heaped curses on him. In Tongan custom this constituted an insufferable insult against a chief, and Taufa'ahau reacted violently. On the day following the cursing, he mustered his army and called them to prayer before the assault on the fort. When they rose from their knees Taufa'ahau addressed them, 669 643 721

"and told them that he had not sought to be engaged in this war, but the Lord had evidently led him to it in defence of his cause, and that, as they were about to engage, no man was to fear". (15) 721 776

Rabone recorded in his journal (16) that when Taufa'ahau's men prayed before the attack, "they felt (according to their own expressions) just as when the revival of religion broke out". It was another evidence of fanaticism. 781

All inside Ngele'ia were slaughtered. One account gave 26 as the number, another 40, and these included women and children. Most of them were the people of Lavaka, the chief of Pea, who was absent from Ngele'ia because of illness, and who was "the chief promoter of the present war". (17) The missionaries' disapproval of this tragic event was rather mildly expressed. Hobbs wrote,

"Why the king should order all to be killed I cannot say; when we heard of it we were very sorry that the women and children were not spared. Bro. Watkin entreated the king to spare the women and children in case that they (the king's army) should destroy the men of the fortress." (18)

Further statements by Hobbs do nothing to reduce the disgrace of Ngele'ia:

"Taufa'ahau was most remarkable for sparing those he overcame in war, and on three former occasions not a single person was put to death when he conquered their fortresses. He has, however, been heard to say lately that he was tired of sparing those who used him ill, and that some of these whose lives would most certainly have been taken but for his interference in days of old, now were among the first to curse and execrate him, and blaspheme the name of the Most High, so that he would now serve them according to their deserts. . . . The people also say that the women here (Ngele'ia) were as bad as the men, especially in their curses and aggravating expressions." (19)

The heads of some of those slain at Ngele'ia were sent to Aleamotu'a by Taufa'ahau, in accordance with pre-Christian customs in warfare. (20) This barbarous incident as well as the deaths of women and children at Ngele'ia reflected sadly upon the character of Taufa'ahau as a professing Christian of some six years' standing, even allowing for his imperious will and his sharp resentment of insults. 727

On another Sabbath, 15 January, the gardens of the Nuku'alofa people were despoiled. Some of the defenders were on the watch and rushed out, pursuing the rebels almost as far as the fort of Pea and killing nine. Soon afterwards, a small fort at Te'ekiu, in Hihifo, was captured by Taufa'ahau's army, with only one defender killed.

On 25 January the most sanguinary episode of the war occurred. This was the sacking of the rebel fort at Hule, near Nukunuku. It was occupied by those who had driven out their chief, Tu'ivakano. Hobbs wrote that it had been "for a long time a nursery of persecution and rebellion". (21) Before the attack, 669 643 721 727 778

"George told his men that they had not come from Ha'apai and Vava'u to possess Tonga but because the cause of Christianity was being persecuted." (21)



[1840-1844]  
Chapter IX.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WESLEYAN MISSION AFTER 1840

The war had interfered sadly with the development of the work of the Mission — the increase of the people's knowledge, the strengthening of their faith, and the inculcation of principles of Christian behaviour. The missionaries had felt frustrated through the absence of fighting men from their homes in Ha'apai and Vava'u for long periods as well as the unsettlement in Tongatapu itself. 797

Little more than ten years had passed since the first converts made their profession, and most of them had had much less than ten years' acquaintance with Christianity. The missionaries knew that their tasks were only beginning. Public worship and teaching had to be supplemented by the "class meetings" for members. These meetings gave regular opportunities for supervising and testing the converts' moral and spiritual growth and for enabling the people themselves to express their new experience. The missionaries were convinced of the necessity for a system of strict discipline within the Church.

The complete evangelization of the main island of Tongatapu was a major objective after fighting ceased in 1840. Already there was cause for some satisfaction in the converts' loyalty in Tongatapu; opposition from non-Christian chiefs had produced greater fidelity and consistency there than in the pliant north. Breaking down the barrier of heathenism in Tongatapu proved a very different task to the evangelization of Ha'apai and Vava'u under the patronage of Taufa'ahau. Even with its best efforts the Wesleyan Mission did not make much headway before 1840 in the Hihifo district, nor did it meet with much success at Mu'a until 1850 nor until after the war of 1852 ended, at Houma and Pea.

The coming of peace enabled the missionaries to visit the non-Christian towns. John Thomas wrote on 13 April 1842: "As missionaries and friends of peace we are welcome in every part of Tongatapu".<sup>(1)</sup> Matthew Wilson, who reopened the station at Hihifo in 1841, often visited Houma and found the people friendly and ready to hear him. Fatai village had become a refuge for Christians from Houma.

In 1843 Fakafanua, the chief of Ma'ofanga, gave up his gods, one large whale's tooth and four small ones, called father and sons, wrapped up in mats. These gods had been kept at Pea and, when Fakafanua told his sons to bring them away, the Pea people said there would be a war if this happened because they feared that a drought or hurricane would follow the removal of the gods.<sup>(2)</sup> [776]

On 28 August 1844, Matthew Wilson recorded the funeral of Vaea, the Houma chief; he gave details of the old heathen ceremonies, men cutting themselves with knives and piercing their flesh with spears, and some adults and children (as young as five years or age) having their fingers amputated.<sup>(3)</sup> [764]

EARLY 19th CENTURY MISSIONARIES IN TONGA

applied, of these the Tuitonga stood first, then the Tamaha, and next the Hau or civil ruler."<sup>(17)</sup> 175

The difference in the rankings given by Lawry and Thomas is because there were Tamahā before there were the civil rulers known as the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu. 643  
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The rank and status associated with the individual known as the Tamahā were indeed very high, contrary to what Kaeppler has to say based on 20th century projections as to how aboriginal Tonga functioned.<sup>(18)</sup> 644  
The French navigator Dumont d'Urville was astute in his observations of Tongan life, and observing the Tamahā in 1827 he wrote: "... all the people of Tonga, without exception, even the toui-tonga and the toui-Kana-Kabolo themselves, had to accord the homage of *moe-moe*, which she was not obliged to honour anyone in this way."<sup>(19)</sup> 644  
576

The *moemoe'i* was the indication of respect that an inferior had to show to a superior. The Wesleyan missionary Webb was quite correct when he wrote that "the Tamahā is the greatest personage in the whole group of islands".<sup>(20)</sup> Where the Tu'i Tonga was the representative of the gods, the Tamahā was virtually viewed as a god on earth. 644  
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Aboriginal Tongans developed a system of rank (based on kinship ties) and status (based on achievements) which made Tongan society an integrated whole. Tonga was a rank-conscious society, with rank being "relative" to those individuals gathered for a specific occasion. The model of Tongan society was that of a stratified one and, as such, redistribution systems developed (as in other parts of Polynesia) with the ranking individuals being the focal points of the system. In Tonga, this was the Tu'i Tonga 'sovereign of Tonga'. 776  
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With the introduction of various Western material goods into the stratified society, some individual Tongan chiefs soon sought to consolidate and improve their positions of "authority" in the islands. With the introduction of Western technological devices, particularly metal tools, which are obviously a labour-saving device, Tongans inevitably had more free time on their hands as European contact increased. Perhaps it was such free time, along with the eventual concentration of European weapons in the hands of a few individuals, which eventually contributed to the increased amounts of Tongan warfare in the 19th century. The role played by material goods in the process of 19th century colonisation was an extremely important one, and Shineberg's comments in reference to Melanesian society are perfectly applicable for Tongan society. 777  
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The entry of European goods was the thin edge of the wedge into their society. It was not long before the new things became necessities instead of luxuries, and the people [became] dependent upon a supply of western axes, muskets, and tobacco. It is well to remain aware, however, that the impetus for change came as much from within traditional society as without it.<sup>(21)</sup> 177  
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17. Thomas n.d. MS:1.

18. Kaeppler 1971:183.

19. Dumont-D'Urville n.d.:27.

20. Webb 1843: entry for Mar. 1, 1843.

21. Shineberg 1966:146.

006

MR. J. J. LISTER ON THE GEOLOGY

[Eua Island]

133 wide opening, overarched by a natural bridge of the limestone rock, the under surface of which is festooned with stalactites. The sea entering beneath the arch washes the bases of the nearly vertical sides of the chasm. The place is called by the natives Matalanga Maui (or the hole made by the implement for planting yams belonging to the god Maui). The manner in which the chasm has been excavated appears obvious. At the foot of the cliffs there are several caves in different stages of excavation, which are formed by the sea wearing back the volcanic rock where it is exposed beneath the limestone. The Matalanga Maui has been formed by the removal of the volcanic rock to such an extent that the cave has approached the surface of the terrace and the roof has fallen in.

[m3]  
[m6]

I may here recapitulate the main features which seem to be indicated by the structure of Eua.

The presence of the plutonic rock points to the existence of an ancient and much denuded mass of such a character in the vicinity.

In the neighbourhood of this mass, and at a considerable depth below the surface of the sea, a volcanic eruption occurred, forming a mound, some of whose upper layers were mingled with pelagic organisms as they were laid out.

It appears that the mound was elevated above the surface, considerably denuded, and afterwards depressed to such a depth, at least, as to submerge its summit.

A covering of calcareous organisms was deposited on the volcanic basis while it was submerged; but so far as the evidence goes the formation is a shallow-water one. The island has since been again elevated by stages to the present height.

During periods when the elevatory forces were in abeyance, the sea wore back the already emerged limestone-deposits, forming terraces bounded by lines of cliff, but in one case at least (namely, the western terrace a) it appears that a true coral-reef was formed in the neighbourhood of the shore.

Dr. Murray finds that it is impossible to assign the organic deposits of the island to a definite geological epoch. Though he is of opinion that they are old, there is no satisfactory evidence to refer them to the Tertiary period.

(c) *Islands formed entirely of Limestone.*

The islands forming the remarkable group of Vavau differ widely in their shape and arrangement from coral islands in general.

Vavau consists of one large island which gives its name to the group, and of a number of smaller islets (see Pl. XXIII.). Vavau Island presents a high and fairly even coast-line to the north and north-east, bordered by limestone cliffs from 300 to 500 feet in height. On the south and south-west the general lie of the land is lower than that on the northern coast. Long promontories stretch out from the main mass of the island, separated by narrow and deep

/246 cont./

775 relatives and also to other human beings. (655)  
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655. Ibid. pp. 105, 138.

775 The entire population, however, (that is, Tongans of all ranks)  
776 were subject to the power of the gods. The multitude of Tongan gods may be divided into "great gods," "the chiefs of the past who became deities," and demons. The former lived on earth as human beings, but were gods from the very beginning and had great power to do good and evil toward mankind. (656)

[77]

656. See also J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 103/104. Of the four great Polynesian gods Tu (Ku), Tane (Kane), Ro'o (Lono) and Ta'arua (Kanalua), the first three seem to have been unknown in Tonga (at any rate in 1800), while the last one is mentioned as Tangaloa (see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 112 ff; E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/ p. 289).

[787] They made themselves known through priests, appeared in the shape of  
[788] animals (lizards, dolphins, water snakes) and also entered into images or into simple things (such as stones).

[787] /247/ The chiefs of the past who became gods, like the great gods but to a lesser extent, were able to bring good and evil to human beings; often they appeared to warn, help and advise, (657)

657. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 104, 106.

and may therefore also be regarded as "tutelary gods," especially since the majority of them had only local, or even merely familial significance.

776 The demons or malignant kobolds, however, (according to Mariner)  
784 (658)

658. J. Martin, ibid., pp. 104, 119/120.

in conformity with their negative function, were always up to bad tricks and, out of pure mischief, inflicted on human beings the many little

/247 cont./

776 annoying ills and troubles of everyday life, quite in contrast to the  
784 high gods who caused great misfortune to come to human beings as  
punishment for their crimes.

784 The Polynesian conception of taboo included prohibition, avoidance  
(791) and abstention (659)

659. H. Nevermann, loc. cit. p. 73.

was effective in religious, social and economic life. In ancient  
Tonga the "tapu" was the most important controlling power. One may  
distinguish between a "permanent tapu," which, for example, applied to  
sanctuaries, chiefs and those of higher rank in general, and a  
"temporary tapu," (660)

660. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 231 f.;  
E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 342.

which chiefs, and priests as well, could inflict (at the command of  
their respective gods) and could also revoke. (661)

661. For instance, in the case of field products  
because of a forthcoming festival or an  
anticipated period of shortage.

Willful violation of a taboo, according to Tongan belief, was punished  
by the gods with death, while unconscious violation could be revoked  
by elaborate ceremonies.

776 In Tonga there was a general belief that all life and well-being  
784 was absolutely dependent on the gods, and that sickness and misery  
791 were divine punishments for the neglect of religious duties or for  
other offences and crimes, especially since, in the view of these  
natives, everything was paid for on this earth and there were no  
punishments in the life beyond. (662)

662. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 107.

791 Aside from a few large and recurring acts of worship, (663)

(651) 663. For example, the 'inasi', namely, the offering  
of first fruits to the Tu'itonga (see ibid.  
p. 207 ff.).

/247 cont./

771

p. 207 ff.).

which were closely associated with the high chiefs, there was no systematic worship of the gods. There were few temples on the islands; they did not differ greatly from the dwellings of the chiefs. (246) Only a few wooden figures of gods existed in the Archipelago. The (778) (shamanlike) /248/ priests played a subordinate role and were by no means united in a special, powerful rank. (664)

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664. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 145 ff.

(776) They were inspired by the gods which each priest served; the chiefs (787) asked them for counsel and the sick and dying were brought in front of their dwellings so that they might induce the gods to heal them.

755 In order to dispose the gods favorably toward the recovery of the 782 sufferers, their relatives of lower rank offered joints of their 304 little fingers (or parts of the fingers), (665) 565

771

665. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 454; II. pp. 222/223.

and if all pleading and even the finger sacrifices were unable to save the dying chief, then a child of one's circle of relatives was strangled in order to dispose the gods to be merciful by means of this supreme sacrifice. (666)

(784)

666. Ibid. I. pp. 378 ff., 454; II. p. 220 ff. If a specially serious crime was committed, the natives also tried to avert disaster threatened by the gods through a child sacrifice (ibid. I. p. 228 ff.).

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In Tongan society there are few examples of definite disbelief (667)

667. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society. p. 347; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 159, 338/339. II. p. 1 ff.

and although perhaps not all commoners could become reconciled to their lot of complete extinction after death, (668)



/249 cont./

771 The  
784 old, so greatly feared power of the tapu is gone. In place of this  
178 merely negative law of prohibition, of avoidance and abstention has  
778 come the idea of sanctity; though this also includes prohibition, its  
meaning is far more ethical than that of the tapu, for the sacred, the  
lofty and the godly is not so much "that which is dangerous,"  
but rather "that which is to be venerated." For the natives, the  
771 principle of sin and atonement of all human beings was also new; this  
783 meant /250/ a considerable change in the ancient Tongan idea of the  
776 deity, since the gods were not ideal beings beyond good and evil, and  
178 did not punish sins (in the Christian sense). The old belief in the  
absolute dependence of human beings on the gods who sent illness and  
(753) suffering as punishment for the neglect of religious duties and other  
(784) transgressions, is today equivalent to the conviction that God is  
almighty; suffering and sickness are regarded as blows of fate sent  
by God, though not merely in the sense of punishment, but of trial  
and purification. Whereas in the past there were few rites and no  
771 formalized general veneration of the gods in Tonga, there are today  
776 several churches on all the inhabited islands, and the natives take  
178 part in the numerous church services conducted in accordance with  
their denominational procedure. The Tongan clergymen who serve the  
773 congregations are respected and influential in the community, in con-  
554 trast to the rather unimportant ancient Tongan priests. The former  
178 sacrifices of the harvest, of fingers and of children have not been  
782 carried out for a long time, but, in a sense, the very high  
178 donations to churches by members of the congregations may replace  
774 these. Today, as in the past, there is general devoutness, and only  
771 occasionally one comes across outspoken disbelief.  
178

(777) These comparisons, despite their brevity, may give an insight  
into the change that came about in Tonga in the field of religion,

773 /251 cont./ When earthquakes, which are frequent in Tonga,  
178 occur, some people, as in old times, (675)  
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675. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 120;  
789 J. Wilson, A missionary voyage /cited  
796 in English/. pp. 277/278.

still make a noise in order to quiet the demigod Maui who carries the earth on his shoulders and, on such occasions, moves because of his uncomfortable position; not all natives, however, are aware of the meaning of this noise-making.

346 Today, every Tongan village has several churches, and even settlement on the tiniest islands of the Archipelago are not satisfied with only one of these more or less simple houses of God. The reason is /252/ that there are now seven different denominations among 795 this people of 50,000 souls: the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, the 794 Free Church of Tonga, the Church of Tonga, the Roman Catholic Church, the Latter Day Saints, (Mormons) the Seventh Day Adventists and the Church of England /all cited in English/. The Mormons, the Adventists and the Church of England have been working for only a few decades in Tonga, and have only a small following so far. A larger number of Tongans belong to the Catholic church, which has done mission work in the Archipelago since 1842, but even they are a minority compared to most of the nation which is Wesleyan. The Wesleyans are split up into three churches of which the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga is the largest and comprises more than half of all Tongans.

The reasons for the origin of three Wesleyan churches are the following:

Around the middle of the previous century practically all Tongans were Christians, and the great majority of them were Wesleyans. They belonged to the Wesleyan (Mission) Church of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church which was under the authority of the Australasian Conference. In 1885 King George Tupou I, with the aid